

Nixon Meets Economic Aides; Ready to Accept EEC 'Float'

By Hobart Rowen

WASHINGTON, March 4 (UPI)—The Nixon administration is ready to accept a Common Market float against the dollar but has expressed some concern that Europe, to limit any new advantage given the dollar, might further devaluation, may see up stiff controls against American investment.

President Nixon met yesterday with his chief economic advisers: Treasury Secretary George P. Shultz, Federal Reserve Chairman Arthur F. Burns, Economic Council Chairman Herbert Stein, and Roy Ash, Director of the Office of Management and Budget. This is the so-called "quad-rail."

Officials here think that floating rates will move in a general way toward the more flexible system of exchange rates that the United States favors. That is the view especially at the Treasury, under the leadership of Mr. Shultz, who has publicly stressed the belief that exchange rates no longer be treated as rigid prices.

Floating rates are viewed with somewhat less enthusiasm at the Federal Reserve. Mr. Burns has testified he thinks 14 dollar devaluations in the last 14 months have brought the value of American currency to a low enough point.

He is reported to have argued at yesterday's session that the United States should be taking some positive steps to restore confidence in the dollar and to demonstrate the government's willingness to defeat inflation.

EEC Money Markets Close For the Week Pending Talks

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Britain would not join in a common float, he said, unless these conditions are met in full. Some officials have suggested that the Nine would have to pool at least \$10 billion in reserves for the system to be credible. But ministers did not appear to be ready yet to agree on the amount, nor on the nature of reserves to be pooled (gold, dollars or EEC units of account). This was left for officials to work out during the week. A further ministers' meeting was likely next weekend, after the Group of Ten meeting, itself probably Thursday or Friday.

The postponement will give a welcome political respite for some member countries. Mr. Barber will now be able to concentrate over the next 36 hours on completing his major budget statement to Parliament on Tuesday.

Surprise Move
The French government will also be able to attend next Sunday's meeting unhampered by pre-election considerations.

In a surprise move, Pierre-Paul Schweitzer, managing director of the International Monetary Fund, arrived from Washington to speak with the ministers and their central bank governors for half an hour. The precise reason for his visit was not known. However, it was the first time that any EEC Council of Ministers interrupted its session to hear an official from an international organization. Usually, non-EEC members are not allowed to influence council deliberations.

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DOUBLE TAKE—Two young ladies looking suspiciously at each other after meeting at street arrival in Rome. They were wearing exactly the same costume.

Gaullists, Allies Trail Left In First Round of Crucial Vote

(Continued from Page 1)

Michel Poniatowski, leader of the Independent Republicans, the Gaullists' coalition ally, said, "However this turns out, we want the Reformateurs to enter the majority."

The main effect of today's first round will be to eliminate the majority of the more than 3,000 candidates running for the Assembly's 490 seats. To gain the second round a candidate needs at least 10 percent of the vote.

In addition to eliminating fringe candidates, rival candidates from the same formations drop out after the first round. In many cases next Sunday's vote will be a two-sided affair between a majority member and a member of the left.

The decisions taken by the Reformateurs over the next few days will be extremely important for the majority. If the Reformateur candidate stays in the race next Sunday, in many cases he will take votes from the majority and help the left to get elected.

Réformateur leader Jean Lecanuet said again tonight, "It remains our No. 1 goal to keep the left from winning control." The Reformateurs are looking to strike a bargain with the majority in which they drop out in some districts in return for a majority withdrawal in others.

Today's turnout, under sunny skies and near record temperatures for the date, was 81 percent of the registered voters, a figure similar to that for the 1967 and 1968 elections.

Because of the horse-trading that goes on between the rounds, first round results can be misleading. One figure of interest, however, is that of the leading candidates after the first round.

The estimations showed that after today's election 299 majority deputies had won their first-round battle, compared to 79 Communists, 66 from the non-Communists left and 29 centrist. In 1967, the majority won in

311 first-round battles, while the Communists won 56, the non-Communists left 68 and the center 38.

These figures indicate a drop of 12 first-round victories for the majority, while the left appears heading for a gain of 21.

The early returns showed no first-round surprise, upsets of France's leading political figures, and many scored first-round victories or were well placed for next Sunday. To win outright on the first round, a candidate needs one vote over 50 percent of the total.

Some easy first round victories were Prime Minister Pierre Messmer, Defense Minister Michel Debré, Finance Minister Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, Social Affairs Minister Edgar Faure and Agriculture Minister Jacques Chirac.

Some of their colleagues did less well. Foreign Minister Maurice Schumann dropped 15 percent under his 1968 total and will be in a difficult runoff position next week. Former Prime Minister Jacques Chaban-Delmas did not win outright, nor did Justice Minister René Pieven or former Prime Minister Maurice Couvreur de Murville, running in Paris.

There was no outright winner in any of the 31 Paris electoral districts, and each one will go to the runoff next week.

50 Picked Outright
With 50 percent of the vote counted, only 50 deputies had been elected outright, including 43 majority members, six Communists and one Socialist. The majority traditionally fares better in the first round because it presents a single candidate against the various leftist representatives.

For a majority in the new Assembly one bloc will need 246 seats. The Gaullist-led bloc had 375 seats in the outgoing Assembly, and would have to lose 130 to lose outright control of the new parliament.

Jean-Philippe Lecat, the government spokesman, said on the radio tonight that "the left is threatening, but it does not look like taking over." Gaullist party leader Alain Peyrefitte said simply, "It could have been worse."

The leading opposition candidates did reasonably well on the first round. Socialist party leader François Mitterrand was well placed to win next week as were Reformateur leaders Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber and Jean Lecanuet.

Commenting on the Reformateur policy for next week's election, Mr. Servan-Schreiber said tonight: "Our candidates will run wherever they can win."

WEATHER

	C	F	
ALGERIE	13	55	Overcast
AMSTERDAM	2	36	Cloudy
ANKARA	5	41	Cloudy
ATHENS	15	59	Cloudy
BEIRUT	14	57	Cloudy
BELGRADE	2	36	Cloudy
BOMBAY	2	36	Rain
BUDAPEST	9	48	Cloudy
CAIRO	17	63	Cloudy
CASABLANCA	17	63	Cloudy
COPENHAGEN	6	43	Overcast
COSTA DEL SOL	14	57	Overcast
DUBLIN	10	50	Cloudy
EDINBURGH	8	46	Rain
FLORENCE	11	52	Sunny
FRANKFURT	9	48	Overcast
GENOVA	8	46	Fair
HELSINKI	-3	27	Snow
ISTANBUL	8	46	Fair
LAS PALMAS	23	73	Cloudy
LONDON	10	50	Overcast
MADRID	11	52	Overcast
MILAN	16	61	Sunny
MUNICH	13	55	Sunny
MOSCOW	-1	30	Overcast
NAGASAKI	-1	30	Cloudy
NICE	14	57	Sunny
OSLO	1	34	Overcast
PARIS	11	52	Overcast
PRAGUE	5	41	Overcast
ROME	13	55	Sunny
SOFIA	2	36	Cloudy
STOCKHOLM	2	36	Rain
TOKYO	2	36	Cloudy
TUNIS	15	59	Sunny
VENICE	10	50	Sunny
VIENNA	10	50	Unsettling
WARSAW	3	37	Cloudy
WASHINGTON	12	54	Sunny
ZURICH	7	45	Cloudy

(Yesterday's readings: U.S., Canada at 1700 GMT; others at 1200 GMT.)

8 Terrorists Surrender in Sudan Capital

2 Hostages Survive, 3 Found Murdered

(Continued from Page 1)

in Khartoum within the last two weeks, traveling on Jordanian passports and posing as students.

The official and the Sahara newspaper said that the head of the local el-Fatah Palestinian office had been in touch with the guerrillas before the raid. He and his family were reported by the paper to have left the country for Libya Thursday morning.

Arrest Reported
But unofficial sources said that the Fatah director, Fawaz Yassin, also known as Abu Marwan, had been arrested by Sudanese police after the operation at the Saudi Embassy began.

(Palestinian guerrilla leader Yasser Arafat, who heads Fatah, cabled President Numeiri that his organization had nothing to do with the events in Khartoum, the Associated Press reported.)

President Numeiri sent President Nixon a telegram of condolence, expressing "outrage and deep distress" at the killings.

He said that the slaying of the two American career diplomats had "aggravated me personally as well as my government and countrymen."

Message to Baudouin
President Numeiri also sent a telegram of condolence to King Baudouin of the Belgians.

The Sudanese had demanded the surrender of the guerrillas yesterday morning, and then cut off the electricity and telephone to the embassy.

There are unconfirmed reports that Gen. Numeiri, who returned to Khartoum last night after a one-day trip to Juba, contacted the guerrillas and told them that the embassy would be stormed if they did not surrender.

The guerrillas had earlier demanded a plane to fly them to the United States, but this was rejected here.

Ordumman radio then said that the terrorists were seeking a plane to fly them out to a destination that they would specify after takeoff.

"The government sees no justification for transferring the current problem on its territory to another Arab country," the broadcast said.

There were conflicting reports on whether the embassy had been seized, as earlier stated by three Sudanese officials who had gone inside it. Army officers told newsmen today after the surrender that it was not, but Information Minister Raj Mousa said in a speech that it was.

A U.S. presidential aircraft arrived here today with three children of the two victims. The bodies of Mr. Moore and Mr. Noel will be returned to the United States tomorrow with their families.

Numeiri 'Trusted'
BEIRUT, March 4 (AP)—The Black September organization today published a statement asserting that the Khartoum guerrillas decided to hand themselves over to the Sudanese authorities "because of the high esteem we hold for President Numeiri."

"We leave them in trust in his hands," the statement issued here said. "We are confident they will be treated as true revolutionaries fighters."

Died 'Bravely'
KHARTOUM, March 4 (UPI)—Saudi Ambassador al-Malhouk said today that the murdered diplomats "faced the situation with extreme courage."

"The guerrillas gave them papers and pen and untied them and told them to write their last letter to their wives and families," he said. "It was a terrifying moment. All were extremely brave. They faced the situation with extreme courage."

"Then 15 minutes later the guerrillas marched them out of the room and we knew that the end had come. They were taken down to the cellar under the embassy and we heard five long bursts from machine guns."

Eid of Arab Descent
BRUSSELS, March 4 (UPI)—The Black September guerrillas in Khartoum could have thought Belgian diplomat Guy Eid was a Jew, whereas he was of Arab descent.

Georges Eid, his brother, said that when the terrorists seized five hostages, they shouted at the Belgian: "You filthy Jew—you'll be killed first."

Mr. Eid's grandfather was Syrian, his grandmother Lebanese and several generations ago the family was converted to Catholicism, the brother said.

Death Sentences
BEIRUT, March 4 (UPI)—King Hussein and the Jordanian cabinet today approved the death sentences passed by a Jordanian military court against Abu Daoud, a leader of the Fatah guerrilla movement, and a group of his men, an Amman radio broadcast said.

Abou Daoud was one of the men Black September commandos sought to free in the Sudan.



Cleo A. Noel



G. Curtis Moore



Guy Eid

Moscow Indicates Disapproval

Rogers Calls Act 'Senseless, Barbarous'

WASHINGTON, March 4 (Reuters)—U.S. officials expressed outrage over the murder of three diplomats, two of them Americans, in Khartoum by Palestinian guerrillas.

Secretary of State William P. Rogers described the killings as "senseless and barbarous." President Nixon demanded that the Black September militants be brought to justice.

In a statement issued Friday, the State Department said:

"This tragic event underscores once again the need of all nations to take a firm stand against the menace of international terrorism."

The Soviet press joined in the international outcry against the murders.

Although making no definite comment, the controlled Soviet newspapers showed by their coverage that Moscow strongly disapproves of the killings.

Most of the Soviet press carried a Tass dispatch, headlined "Seizure of Hostages," which described the Black September group as members of a "Palestinian terrorist organization."

Moscow has strongly supported Palestinian liberation movements but is making it clear that it wants to disassociate itself from such terrorist activities.

'Atrocity.' Israel Says
Israel declared today that the murders were "an atrocity."

A cabinet statement claimed it was "further proof of the murderous character of the terrorist and sabotage movements." It added:

"Not only do they lack every human value in their decisions and their operations, but their aim is to torpedo every chance of progress on the road to peace between the Arab states and Israel."

The West German government said the killings were in no way likely to solve existing problems but only increased existing tensions.

"The federal government has said repeatedly that violence cannot be the means for the enforcement of political demands," the Bonn statement added.

United Nations Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim called the killings an "appalling act" and said he was deeply shocked and grieved.

Pope Paul VI, addressing pilgrims gathered in St. Peter's Square for his Sunday blessing, said: "Today terrorism fills public opinion with fear and horror."

Yesterday the Pontiff expressed "profound sorrow and consternation" while Vatican Radio talked

of a "vile undertaking," and a "despicable and foul gesture." Jordan condemned the killings as an "ugly crime."

Some Lebanese newspaper commentators regretted the fact that the Khartoum murders would turn world attention away from the recent Israeli attack on a Libyan airliner.

The general reaction in the Arab world, as at the time of Black September's Munich Olympics attack, seemed to be a mix-

ture of understanding for the motives of the guerrillas and dis-

taste at their methods. In Cairo, the newspaper Al Gomhuria said, "The United States killed its own ambassador, his aide and the Belgian. By uninstilling support for Israel, America is imposing on the world a situation where a people who have been expelled from their homeland and gone hungry lose their senses and do what they did. No one can blame them."

Japan Defense Plan Reported For Soviet, Chinese Attacks

(Continued from Page 1)

placement of less than one oil supertanker, the navy is expected to be able to function only three or four days against what Japan considers would be a superior naval force.

The brunt of the defense would therefore fall on Japan's 150,000-man army. It would undertake "conventional ground defense at first, but quickly break up into small guerrilla units to harass enemy supply lines, deny an enemy access to Japanese industry and generally make an enemy occupation as painful as possible."

The army's basic mission would be to hold out for 10 days at the least, and as much as three weeks if possible, while Japan's political leaders invoked the security treaty with the United States and asked for U.S. help.

The doctrine assumes U.S. relations with the Soviet Union would influence the U.S. decision on whether to intervene. Japanese strategists hope that Washington would be willing to mediate, at the least, to stop the fighting, even if it was not willing to risk war with the Soviet Union to save Japan.

Militarily, the U.S. Seventh Fleet would be operating in the Japanese "sea" from the Kamohakka Peninsula in far eastern Siberia all the way around Asia to the Indian Ocean. It would take time to deploy the ships to save Japan.

If the United States chose not to respond, the doctrine calls for the Japanese Army to give up before risking a slaughter of civilians. The doctrine rejects widespread popular resistance, such as Israel or Switzerland envisage, because the degree of conscription in those two nations is politically impossible in Japan for the foreseeable future.

U.S. bases in Japan figure little in Japanese strategic thinking.

But Not Enough to Topple Marxist

Majority Seen for Opposition to Allende

(Continued from Page 1)

include an estimated 800,000, enfranchised when the voting age was lowered to 18 in 1971 shortly after Mr. Allende took office.

Preservation of law and order during the election period is the responsibility of the armed forces, which, under the constitution, became responsible for security 48 hours before the polls opened.

The major figures in the electoral campaign, besides Mr. Allende, are Christian Democrat leader Eduardo Frei and National party leader Sergio Jarpa.

Mr. Frei, president from 1964 to 1970 and now running for one of Santiago's five Senate seats, has spearheaded his party's campaign with an appeal for "reconstruction" of the country. Mr. Jarpa, formerly a bitter opponent of Mr. Frei but now allied with him, has said that his party will attempt to censor Mr. Allende and force him out of office immediately, if the opposition wins the vital two-thirds majority.

Mr. Allende has told supporters that Mr. Frei's "reconstruction" would mean returning nationalized land, banks and factories to their former owners, "robbing the people" of the "hard-won achievements" of the first two years of his rule.

Compensation Issue
SANTIAGO, March 4 (UPI)—Mr. Allende said for the first time Friday that he was willing to submit to an international court Chile's refusal to pay compensation for nationalized U.S. copper properties.

He told a news conference that



Salvador Allende

Chile will invoke terms of a 1914 bilateral treaty with the United States creating an international panel to settle differences.

U.S. officials said they were "very interested" in Mr. Allende's remarks. "It is certainly not a negative development," one said.

Japanese Opens Lion's Jaw to Free His Son

TAKOKA, Japan, March 4

(AP)—A 30-year-old man reached between iron bars and forced open the jaws of a lion with his bare hands yesterday to free his 9-year-old son from the lion's grip, police reported.

The boy, Yukihiko Hayashi, entered a restricted stockade at a zoo in this town in northern Japan. Police said a 6-year-old female lion reached through an opening between the bars of her pen and scratched the boy's face and seized his left arm.

The boy's father, Shinichi Hayashi, leaped into the stockade and fought three minutes with the lion. The father suffered only slight injuries to his right hand, police said. The boy's injuries will require two weeks' treatment, they added.

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A Vatican Aide Installs Four As Bishops in Czechoslovakia

OLOMOUČ, Czechoslovakia, March 4 (Reuters).—Pope Paul's "foreign minister," the Most Rev. Agostino Casaroli, today formally installed the Most Rev. Josef Vrana as apostolic administrator of the Archdiocese of Olomouc. He became the first bishop to be consecrated in Bohemia in a quarter of a century.

The consecration of Bishop Vrana followed the consecration in Slovakia yesterday of the Rev. Jan Pastor as bishop of Nitra. Of Msgr. Josef Pavane as bishop of Banská Bystrica and of the Rev. Julius Gabris as bishop of Trnava.

Archbishop Casaroli installed the three bishops yesterday in a two-hour ceremony in the baroque cathedral within the walls of a medieval fortress built to defend Nitra against Turkish invaders. Thousands gathered in the Nitra foothills town, weeping happily as they watched a post-consecration procession in cold rain. Nitra is 90 miles south of Olomouc.

The four bishops' appointments, the first in Czechoslovak dioceses since 1945, were announced at the Vatican last week following an agreement reached with the Czechoslovak government after five years of negotiations.

Hundreds of worshippers gathered in the Gothic cathedral here today to watch Archbishop Casaroli.

Only 29 Percent Of Irish Said To Favor Unification

DUBLIN, March 4 (UPI).—A newspaper poll published today—four days before Northern Ireland's referendum on the border question—shows that only 29 percent of the population in the North and the South believe a united Ireland is the best solution.

The poll, conducted for the Sunday Independent by two research groups, was described by the newspaper as a "shock result."

The survey indicated that 37 percent in the Irish Republic and 13 percent in Northern Ireland favor creation of a united Ireland as the best way to end the violence in the North.

Among the total population of the Irish Republic and the North, 29 percent were in favor of such a solution.

The newspaper said only 3 percent in the North and the South favored a return to the home rule that Northern Ireland had before direct control of Ulster by Britain was imposed almost a year ago.

Carroll present the new bishop with his insignia of office—ring, mitre and crozier—and embrace him.

Present at the ceremony were the head of the church administration of the Czech government, Karel Hruza, and the deputy minister of culture, Otakar Fandl.

Other Bishops
Also present were Bohemia's Bishop Josef Trochta of Litoměřice and Bishop Frantisek Tomasek of Prague.

In a brief address read in Latin and Czech, Archbishop Casaroli told the congregation: "It is a solemn day which sees the root of the apostolic succession sprout again in this soil called to the Christian faith 11 centuries ago through Saints Cyril and Methodius."

Tomorrow, Archbishop Casaroli will go to Prague for a meeting with a Czechoslovak deputy minister, sources reported. They said the Vatican hopes to continue negotiations for the appointment of further bishops—seven of the 13 bishoprics are still vacant—and the eventual establishment of full diplomatic relations.

New Cardinals
ROME, March 4 (AP).—Pope Paul will elevate 30 prelates from 17 countries to the Sacred College of Cardinals tomorrow, according to younger men and more nations to the body that elects popes. Three of the new cardinals are Americans.

The consistory, the fourth in Pope Paul's 10-year-old reign, will increase the number of Cardinals to 144, the most in history.

For the first time, Pakistan, Kenya, the Pacific Islands, Puerto Rico and the Congo will have cardinals.

Cardinal O'Boyle Resigns at 76

VATICAN CITY, March 4 (Reuters).—Patrick Cardinal O'Boyle, the 76-year-old conservative archbishop of Washington, has resigned for reasons of age, the Vatican announced yesterday.

A brief announcement said that Pope Paul VI had accepted the resignation. No successor was named. The resignation came as no surprise since all bishops are expected to resign at 75.

Cardinal O'Boyle was at the center of a bitter revolt in 1968 when he clamped down on priests in his diocese who attacked Pope Paul's encyclical banning artificial birth control.

Cardinal O'Boyle was named archbishop of Washington in 1947. He was made a cardinal by Pope Paul in 1967.



Klaus Altmann in Bolivia

Nazi Crimes Denied in Jail By Altmann

LA PAZ, Bolivia, March 4.—Klaus Altmann, a naturalized citizen, was in jail here today after reportedly admitting that he is Klaus Barbie, an ex-Nazi France wants for war crimes.

Altmann was arrested in a street of the Bolivian capital Friday by National Guardsmen, his wife said, and put in a cell in San Pedro Jail, the principal Bolivian prison.

But from his cell, Altmann said yesterday that he never told the district attorney he also was Barbie. Through his attorney, Altmann said that he "had all ways said he is and has been Klaus Altmann because that is his true identity."

Altmann's lawyer, Constantino Carrion, applied yesterday to have Altmann released on his own recognizance.

A judge who ordered his arrest said he did so because of a rumor that Altmann might flee the country to escape a request for his extradition made by the French government early last year.

The judge said that it had been established during a 2 1/2-hour court hearing that Altmann had served in World War II as an officer of the German SS under the name of Klaus Barbie.

Barbie, known to Frenchmen as "the butcher of Lyons," was convicted in his absence after the war by a French tribunal for war crimes, including the torture and murder of hundreds of French resistance workers, among them Maquis leader Jean Moulin.

Altmann, of German origin, settled in Bolivia in 1952 and took Bolivian nationality five years later.

The judge said that Altmann was asked why he did not appear before French courts to clarify his wartime position, and he replied that his actions during the war could not be called crimes but were simply acts of war.

When Altmann was asked if he was both Klaus Altmann and Klaus Barbie, the judge said, he answered: "Yes, indeed, because during the wartime period I was the same person."

The case must now pass before a higher La Paz district court on March 16 and later before the Bolivian Supreme Court.

Arms Spending Increases 28% In Iran's Budget

TEHRAN, March 4 (AP).—Premier Amir Abbas Hoveida today presented a record budget of \$20 billion to parliament. It provides for a 25 percent increase over last year in spending and revenue.

An unprecedented 28 percent increase goes to the budget for the armed forces, not including all of the \$2-billion, five-year special arms purchases recently disclosed.

"We will do our best to turn Iran into a most powerful force," Mr. Hoveida said.

Recently increased guerrilla activity and leftist provocations from its Soviet-backed neighbor Iraq, as well as Iran's interests in the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean, is justification for the record military spending, one Western military expert said.

Bulgarian Jet In Moscow Crash; 25 Die

Crash Is Moscow's Third in 5 Months

MOSCOW, March 4 (UPI).—Engine failure probably caused the crash yesterday of a Bulgarian jetliner that killed all 25 persons aboard, Bulgarian sources said today.

A preliminary investigation by a Soviet-Bulgarian team found evidence of engine failure, the sources said. They did not elaborate.

The Soviet-built Il-18 turbo-prop of Balkan Airlines was nearly two hours behind schedule on a regular flight from Sofia when it crashed in flames about two kilometers from Sheremetyevo Airport, Western airline sources said.

It was the third crash at Moscow's international airport in the last five months.

BTA, the official Bulgarian news agency, said the plane carried 17 passengers, including eight Bulgarians, six Russians, one Vietnamese, one Japanese and one Cuban. Western airline sources said the eight-member crew was Bulgarian.

Western airline sources said there was an unconfirmed report that the four-engine plane, which can seat up to 110 passengers, exploded in the air before crashing in flames. The tail section was the only part of the wreckage found intact, they said.

The three crashes at Sheremetyevo Airport since October have taken 265 lives.

On Oct. 13, a Soviet Aeroflot Il-62 on an unscheduled flight from Leningrad crashed while attempting to land, killing all 178 aboard in history's worst civil air disaster.

A Japan Air Lines DC-8 crashed on takeoff from the airport Nov. 28, killing 61 of the 76 persons aboard. Investigators cited pilot error.

Cabinet in Israel Gets French View Of Plane Downing

JERUSALEM, March 4 (UPI).—The Israeli cabinet today heard a report on the French investigation of the downing of a Libyan airliner and set up an eight-member committee to work out the method and amount of compensation to be paid out to the families of the victims.

Israel has made it clear that it is offering the compensation for "humanitarian reasons," saying it should not be interpreted as an admission of guilt for the incident, which claimed 105 lives.

Three French investigators left Israel today, after visiting the site of the crash in the occupied Sinai Desert and meeting the air force chief of staff, Maj. Gen. Moshe Harel, and one of the pilots who intercepted the plane.

The communiqué said the government's legal adviser, who coordinated the meetings of the French group, briefed the cabinet on its work.

Mrs. Meir in N.Y.
NEW YORK, March 4 (Reuters).—Israeli Premier Golda Meir, who had talks with President Nixon in Washington last week, arrived here by air today from Miami after attending an Israeli bond dinner last night. She will attend fund-raising rallies here during a two-day visit.

French Air Strike Extended Again

PARIS, March 5 (AP).—Air-traffic controllers decided yesterday to extend their walkout until midnight tomorrow, but military controllers kept France's airports operating.

The civilian technicians have been holding an illegal strike since Feb. 20, demanding the right to strike and increased wages.

The government called in military controllers last Monday despite a protest by French pilots.

The government has refused to negotiate under duress with the controllers, who were denied the right to strike under a 1964 law.



STRIPES—Navy Lt. George T. Coker arrives at Clark Air Force Base in the Philippines wearing a shoulder board with stripes that he made while in captivity in North Vietnam and put on as he left Hanoi yesterday. Behind him, at right, is Air Force Capt. Fredric R. Flom. They were among 106 American POWs released.

U.S., Hanoi Seen Holding Aid Talks in Paris

By Bernard Gwertzman
PARIS, March 4 (NYT).—Key American and North Vietnamese officials plan to hold private talks here in the next few days on details of the establishment of a Joint Economic Commission that would play a major role in channeling U.S. aid to North Vietnam, diplomatic sources said yesterday.

In the wake of last week's international conference on Vietnam, William H. Sullivan and Nguyen Co Thach, who helped to negotiate the Jan. 27 cease-fire agreement, have stayed behind to discuss the economic questions, particularly the functioning of the commission, the sources said.

Mr. Sullivan is deputy assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific affairs. Mr. Thach, Hanoi's deputy foreign minister, was a member of North Vietnam's delegation to the conference.

Some congressmen had urged that any such aid be channeled through multilateral bodies, such as a special Indochina consortium, and the administration had said it would see if this was possible.

In an interview, a high-ranking Hanoi official repeated that such aid should be bilateral because that was the only way his government could control it.

He also stressed that Hanoi was particularly interested in aid from the United States, Russia and China, but he expressed some qualms about aid from Japan—a country which has publicly expressed interest in providing postwar assistance to Indochina.

"We must be very careful with the Japanese," he said, alluding to Japan's World War II occupation of Vietnam.

When asked what kind of aid

Viet Cong See Talks Impasse Reds Downed Copter, Killing 6, Saigon Says

SAIGON, March 4.—The Saigon command reported today that Communist troops shot down a South Vietnamese helicopter on a supply mission northeast of Tay Ninh, a city about 80 miles from Saigon, killing all six government soldiers aboard.

Lt. Col. Le Trung Hien, a spokesman for the Saigon command, said the helicopter was hit by a Soviet-built, manually-fired Strela missile. Col. Hien said other helicopters have been shot down since the cease-fire went into effect on Jan. 23, but he did not give a specific number.

The Saigon command accused the Communists of 128 violations of the cease-fire during the 24-hour period ending at 6 a.m. today. It has reported a total of 5,688 alleged violations in the 36 days the cease-fire has been in effect. Despite the high number, U.S. officials say the intensity of the fighting has decreased in the last two weeks, with no major battles reported.

Many of the alleged violations involve minor incidents.

He said that instead of handing back one-fourth of the prisoners, the South Vietnamese offered to return only one-thirtieth.

Appeal on Violations
Maj. Gen. Gilbert H. Woodward, the senior U.S. representative on the Joint Military Commission, has introduced to the group a draft of an appeal calling for an end to cease-fire violations.

The measure will be taken up by the four delegations tomorrow. A U.S. spokesman indicated that the action was in response to Communist charges that the United States was ignoring the provisions of the Paris agreement that did not deal with the release of U.S. POWs.

Radio Hanoi reported that U.S. minesweepers returned to North Vietnamese waters today. The minesweeping operations in North Vietnam's ports were suspended Wednesday after the Communists delayed the release of American POWs.

U.S. military sources said the minesweeping probably would resume in a few days.

Marine Attack
PHNOM PENH, March 4 (AP).—Communist guerrillas fired seven mortar rounds into the Phnom Penh suburb of Takhmau last night, killing two persons, including an infant, and wounding 15 military men and civilians, the Cambodian military command reported today.

The U.S. Pacific command announced in Honolulu that U.S. planes carried out raids over Cambodia today at the request of the government. Sources said the activity, involving tactical aircraft, was light.

Reconstruction Speeded
SAIGON, March 4 (AP).—North Vietnam reported today that it is making a speedy postwar recovery from the devastation of American bombing and is rebuilding bridges, shipyards and factories during the cease-fire.

The biggest accomplishment to date, a Radio Hanoi broadcast reported, has been reactivation of the milelong Paul Doumer Bridge in Hanoi, the most important in North Vietnam. Radio Hanoi said the bridge was rebuilt "after 41 days and nights of intensive repair work."

Also reported reopened was the 7,513-foot Long Bien Bridge, North Vietnam's longest, which spans the Red River and carries a railroad, as well as a highway and a path for pedestrians.

Obituaries
Ex-Sen. Guy M. Gillette, 94, Isolationist Came to Back UN

CHEROKEE, Iowa, March 4 (AP).—Guy M. Gillette, 94, a former U.S. senator who moved from isolationism to become one of the strongest supporters of the United Nations, died yesterday.

Sen. Gillette, who was born here Feb. 3, 1879, had been hospitalized for the past few years. He died of a stroke in 1966.

Until World War II, Sen. Gillette, a Democrat, was an isolationist. He opposed Lend-Lease and U.S. involvement in foreign wars, although he had fought in two of them—the Spanish-American conflict and World War I. He was one of the targets of an attempted "purge" by President Franklin D. Roosevelt of unyielding congressmen.

After the war, however, Sen. Gillette worked hard for international cooperation. He was a member of a bipartisan group of senators who worked with the State Department to formulate the UN Charter and was the author of a resolution that set up a group to study UN Charter revision.

Although he was active on behalf of isolationism helping farm-aid bills, Sen. Gillette also kept an eye out for the consumer. He headed a subcommittee that held hearings in 1949-50 on a rise in coffee prices and his report caused protests from several Latin American countries.

Sen. Gillette represented Iowa in Congress for 18 years. He received his law degree from Drake University and was first elected to the House of Representatives in 1932. Near the end of his second term, he was elected to a two-year term to fill a vacancy in the Senate.

He remained in the Senate through 1944, was defeated, then was re-elected in 1945 by the greatest majority in the state's history.

Sen. Gillette was defeated in 1950 by Republican Thomas E. Martin, who backed President Dwight D. Eisenhower's program of flexible farm supports.

Asked what he thought was primarily responsible for his defeat, Sen. Gillette said: "Well, primarily it was that I didn't get enough votes."

The Iowa senator fought President Roosevelt on several issues besides foreign policy. He was opposed to Mr. Roosevelt's third and fourth terms and against his plan for reorganizing the Supreme Court.

After Sen. Gillette's 1944 defeat, however, Mr. Roosevelt ap-

pointed him chairman of the Surplus Property Board. Sen. Gillette resigned after five months. He was offered a federal judgeship by President Harry S. Truman but instead accepted the presidency of the American League for a Free Palestine.

Richard Halliday
BRASILIA, March 4 (AP).—Richard Halliday, 67, an American film and theatrical producer and husband of actress Mary Martin, died yesterday in a hospital here of complications following an operation for a blocked intestine.

Mr. Halliday served as coproducer of many of Miss Martin's most successful hit musicals, including "The Sound of Music" and "Peter Pan." They were married in 1940.

He arrived at the Santa Lucia Hospital in Brasilia's inland capital Thursday in a state of shock, hospital officials said. He had been staying at his ranch near the central Brazilian town of Anapolis.

The operation was completed successfully but complications developed and Mr. Halliday went into a coma Friday morning, a hospital spokesman said. He never regained consciousness.

Mr. Halliday first came to Brazil in 1925—about the same time Brasilia was being built in the wilderness—and bought the ranch. In recent years, the couple lived there almost permanently.

Hollywood, March 4 (AP).—Ron Winston, 40, film and television director, died Friday of a heart attack.

Mr. Winston was stricken at Los Angeles International Airport as he prepared to board a flight to San Francisco, where he planned to do preliminary work for "Lisa Bright and Dark." He was scheduled to direct the film for television's "Hallmark Hall of Fame."

He had just completed the two-hour "McMillan and Wife," with Rock Hudson and Susan St. James, for NBC and was preparing to direct an ABC Movie of the Week, "Night Train to Terror."

Mr. Winston had directed television programs for "Playhouse 90," "CBS Playhouse," "Chrysler Theater," "Dupont Show of the Week" and "Hawaii Five-O." Broadway shows directed by Mr.

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Larger Than Russians' SS-9

China Is Reported Developing a Super-Missile

By William Beecher

WASHINGTON, March 4 (UPI)—China is reportedly developing an intercontinental ballistic missile that is larger than the biggest one in the Soviet arsenal and is building concrete and steel silos to protect it against surprise attack.

The missile, well-placed administration officials said, is a three-stage ICBM approximately 20 percent larger in volume than the Soviet SS-9.

A handful of underground silos for the new missile—which uses liquid fuel and is expected to have a range of 5,000 to 7,000 miles—is being built at a missile-test center west of Peking. The missile's range would permit coverage of most major cities and military targets in the Soviet Union and the United States.

Once China successfully tests its first intercontinental missile at full range, analysts estimate, it will take at least three years before a force of 10 to 30 missiles can be deployed.

Other Buildings Feared

American planners believe that China wants a long-range ICBM both to deter the potential threat of a first strike in some future confrontation with either the Soviet Union or the United States and to propel China into superpower status alongside those two nations.

Achievement by Peking of a strong deterrent capability would be expected to reduce the chances of war between Russia and China, planners say. But they worry that it might also encourage other countries, such as India and Japan, to develop nuclear weapons and that it might even lead to modification by Moscow and Washington of their treaty on anti-missile forces, to permit expansion of such defenses.

About a month ago, officials say, reconnaissance satellite photos showed the new Chinese missile on a surface launching pad at the test center near Peking in what appeared to be active preparations for a firing. But, presumably because of technical problems, the test was called off and the missile lowered from its gantry.

While there have been firings of some of the component stages of the ICBM, sources say, a complete missile is not believed to have been fired.

Analysts generally expect that China will conduct some tests at reduced range within its borders before shooting at full range either into the Indian Ocean or into the Pacific.

"They'd hardly like to see a faulty missile abort and fall into India, for instance," one official said.

50 Missiles in Position

China is said to have deployed about 50 missiles with ranges from 600 to 3,500 miles. Only a small

percentage of them are in silos or on tracks inside cave-like installations dug into mountainsides.

The bulk of the missiles are in so-called soft sites above ground.

Government officials here believe that the Chinese are depending now more on dispersion than hardened facilities to deter a potentially disarming first strike by complicating the job of simultaneous attack.

They note that the Chinese have deployed most of their missiles in groups of only two or three, rather than in the much larger numbers that characterize a typical Soviet or American complex.

Besides the missiles kept in readiness at test centers, officials say, operational missiles are dispersed at locations near the Korean border, south of Peking and south and west of Outer Mongolia.

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More Than Academic Issues Assistent Greek Students See Unrest Uniting Regime's Foes

By Alvin Shuster

ATHENS, March 4 (UPI)—University students, for the most part passive in the past, are now posing major problems for the regime through demonstrations and strikes in support of demands for academic freedom.

In the student activism, the first of an open movement of protest that the army seized power here six years ago and imposed a six-year ban on political opponents, surprised and alarmed government officials, and the imaginations of the masses and left many wondering: "What now?"

Three years ago, a group of students told a visitor that, while campuses were alive with agitation elsewhere in the world, Greek students were in no position to act. They talked of a "get their diplomas" or "get the police and army, their inability to find more than a few dozen colleagues united in open acts of defiance."

Now, with campuses abroad relatively quiet, the time has come for many students here. As they see it, it is a nonviolent movement that will gather momentum because, as one said, "The incompetence of this government will constantly give us causes to broaden our support."

Reasons Explained

A group of students, all of whom attend the Athens Polytechnic, the country's most prestigious technical school, published in a downtown apartment to explain the reasons behind the current agitation. They were clearly worried about government retaliation and did not want to be identified.

"The reasons are varied and with deep roots," Nikolas, a 20-year-old student of civil engineering, said.

"We are tired of decrees against us. We are weary of fraudulent elections for our representatives who always turn out to be pro-regime. We object to government commissioners, all former generals, sitting in the schools. We want an important voice in drafting the new charter for higher education."

"Underneath, too," said John, a 21-year-old who is studying electrical engineering, "we have the feeling that this government can't last too long now; that it can't keep it up. We are not saying its days are numbered, but maybe its months are. The campus may appear to quiet down for a while. But we're doing the best we can. We have no plan. The surprising thing is that we are united like never before under this government."

It is this sense of unity that appears to have given many students their new-found courage to act.

The government has also helped their cause in what is generally agreed—even by some regime supporters—to be a bad case of nerves.

There were two major mistakes made in the last 2 1/2 weeks by regime officials. First, police were sent to the campus of the Polytechnic School to break up a demonstration and beat many students.

"Shame in Blood"

"Five hundred police attacked," said a young man who was there. "They were sadists. They were pulling the hair of girls. They hit us on the heads, shouting 'Take this! One beaten student wrote 'Shame' with his blood. I was there, and saw it. Other students were not, but they have all heard the story and are terribly upset."

The second miscalculation came on Feb. 13, when the regime, worried about the rising unrest, issued a decree to end military deferment for students who were striking or inciting others to protest, meaning that dissidents could be called up immediately.

Thus what started out as a campaign involving other issues, such as trying to reduce government intervention in university life and the desire for a greater voice in academic affairs, has now centered on the draft decree.

About 100 students, most of them leading activists, have been forced to stop their studies and go into the armed forces. There can be no appeal.

Athens Acts to Stop Foes of Makarios

By Alvin Shuster

ATHENS, March 4 (UPI)—The government of Greece intervened in Cyprus last week to force up Archbishop Makarios, island republic's president, to meet a bid by three rival bishops to topple him as head of the Orthodox Church.

The three prelates—Metropolitan Gennadios of Paphos, Anthimos of Kyrenia and Epiphanius of Salamis—announced their ultimatum, which expired Tuesday, asking him to resign or be deposed for violating a church law that bars clergymen from holding temporal office.

A spokesman for the military-led Athens government said yesterday that Greece's ambassador in Moscow had called on the three metropolitans "to stress the seriousness that Makarios's demerit as archbishop may be."

Unofficial sources suggested that the ambassador, Epiphanius, in fact conveyed to the bishops the Greek demand to desist from their bid to topple the Cypriot primate, for fear that this might wreck efforts to settle the Cyprus dispute.

Cyprus, a former British colony, became an independent state in 1960 as a compromise between the demands of the island's Greek majority for union with Greece and the Turkish minority's claim to the island's partition between Greece and Turkey.

Talks on Coexistence

Efforts to devise a mutually acceptable formula for coexistence continued since 1968. The last round of talks between the communities, with the participation of the United Nations, was generally personal representative in Cyprus, Mexico's Juan Osorio-Tafalla, as well as Greek and one Turkish constitutional expert, has now come to an agreement.

It was in order to rescue these talks that the Greek regime decided to bolster Archbishop Makarios against the three bishops. Yet the Greek government, at a year ago, incited the prelates to put pressure on the president. Athens then hoped to make him more flexible and the intercommunal negotiations.

The three metropolitans, however, now have the support of ex-born Greek Gen. George Papadopoulos, who signed the new mobilization decree, and other government ministers have constantly pressed the need to get the support of the nation's young and to improve the quality of education.

Accordingly, the regime has built schools, provided free tuition up through the university level, given free meals to college students not living at home and given students free books and interest-free loans. Many students, however, have made it clear that material largesse is not enough. And so, the officials find themselves somewhat bewildered by the troubles. This was supposed to be the new generation that grew up under the regime, young persons who were 12, 13 and 14 years old when it came to power, and on whom the rulers depended for the "transformation of Greek society."

4 Lawyers Arrested

ATHENS, March 4 (Reuters)—Four young Athens lawyers were detained for questioning by security police today in connection with recent student unrest.

The arrests were made as a pro-government newspaper said that former politicians, retired generals and some lawyers had investigated the student troubles with the aim of causing bloodshed and provoking condemnation of the Athens military regime in the U.S. Congress.

Eleftheros Kosmos said in a front-page article that former politicians had asked an exiled Greek journalist, Elias Demestresopoulos, to persuade U.S. Rep. Benjamin Rosenthal, D., N.Y., to initiate a congressional debate on Greece.

The newspaper alleged that Rep. Rosenthal had asked for a pretext to mount a campaign against the Athens regime.

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Nixon's 'Strong' Presidency, As Seen by Constitutionalists

By John Herbers

WASHINGTON (NYT)—Richard M. Nixon, in what he has undertaken in his second year, is attempting an expansion of presidential powers that could have more impact on the national government than that of any president since Franklin D. Roosevelt.

That is the opinion of historians, political scientists and other students of the presidency who were interviewed during recent weeks while Mr. Nixon was restructuring his administration for another four years and challenging Congress to what could be a bitter struggle over the constitutional balance of powers.

"In so many ways," said Henry Steele Commager, the historian, "I think Mr. Nixon has gone far beyond any previous president in our history."

Thomas E. Cronin, a presidential-affairs scholar at the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Santa Barbara, Calif., said of Mr. Nixon: "He has systematically gone about trying to strengthen the presidency in a great number of ways, frequently by circumventing the Constitution or expanding on past practices that were ambiguous or questionable."

This has been done by strong presidents in the past, a number of whom have emerged as public heroes, because the Constitution gave greater weight of authority to the Congress and the great changes in American society have required a stronger executive.

In the opinion of many, however, what is involved in the current struggle is the setting of national priorities, the future of the system of checks and balances established by the founding fathers and the authority that future presidents will have to make war by their own decision.

States-Rightist

Although Mr. Nixon is a self-proclaimed activist president, he is expanding his authority in many areas, he says that his efforts to gain more control over the use of federal money would actually reduce the jurisdiction of the president's office over the long run, by eliminating social programs undertaken and expanded by Presidents Dwight D. Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson. He wants to return such programs to the authority of state and local governments.

In the upsurge, many Americans have come loose from their ideological moorings as Mr. Nixon has moved to gain more influence over the Congress, the Supreme

Court, the federal bureaucracy, his own political party and public opinion.

Conservatives who have traditionally favored a strong Congress and a weakened presidency are now advocating the reverse. Liberals who have long viewed the presidency as the best means of achieving a humane foreign policy and helping the needy at home are crying for restraints on the President.

Among intellectuals, there is division and confusion as to what precisely is happening and what should be done. But the feeling that the balance of powers may be out of kilter cools deep.

Inside the White House, the view is that the President is doing no more than exercising powers established by a succession of strong presidents, most of them Democrats, in order to carry out what Mr. Nixon views as the will of the majority of the people. It is pointed out that even before he was elected in 1969, Mr. Nixon promised a strong, active presidency in order to heal a torn and divisive society.

"Sure, he is leading a counter-revolution," said one presidential aide. "But it is mostly against some of the things that were done in the national government in the 1960s. It doesn't go back to Harry Truman or anything like that. And in the war, he did what was necessary to bring a peace we could live with. He couldn't do it by committee."

Comparisons

Among outside observers, there is a general belief that Mr. Nixon is conducting a more powerful presidency, both in foreign and domestic affairs, than either Lyndon Johnson or John Kennedy, both active presidents who broadened powers inherited from their predecessors.

Much of his new power is accounted for with trends that began during or after World War II coming to maturity in his administration—for example, the shift from treaties, which require Senate approval, to executive agreements that stand on their own.

Although the President has consolidated power in many areas, there are two that are causing the most concern.

First, in foreign affairs, Mr. Nixon, it is widely believed, has expanded somewhat the powers used by President Johnson, but close observers of both administrations say the difference is one of degree, not of kind. In ordering the bombing of North Vietnam and military excursions into Cambodia and Laos, he acted under

precedents established by Mr. Johnson.

The difference is that he did not advise and consult Congress and others as much as had been done in the past and he did not publicly offer constitutional justification for bypassing Congress, only the necessity of executive action.

The war powers are now viewed as so institutionalized in the executive branch that the American president is freer to take military action on his own than the executives of most major nations. In the Soviet Union, for example, Premier Alexei N. Kosygin had to gain approval of the Politburo before ordering the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968.

Second, in domestic affairs, Mr. Nixon is using his office to reverse some aspects of a trend that has been under way since the 1930s—the growth of the national government as the chief instrument for public policy and services. This trend was given its impetus in the Roosevelt administration.

Same Tactics

Mr. Nixon is seeking to arrest this trend by public persuasion, by impounding funds that exceed his budget, by deciding which programs will be reduced or eliminated and by threatening to eliminate others if Congress does not turn back more authority to state and local governments. In this regard, Mr. Nixon is going further than any president not involved in total war.

As a result of these developments in foreign and domestic affairs, the atmosphere in Congress is one of outrage that surpasses any discontent seen there in many years. Charges of presidential usurpation of congressional powers are nothing new. A century and a half ago, Sen. Henry Clay accused President Jackson of attempting to concentrate "all power in the hands of one man," an argument that has emanated periodically from Congress ever since and is now heard daily from Democratic members.

Mr. Nixon, however, has taken this ancient constitutional struggle into a new era of history. In the past, strong presidents who viewed their office as the "tribune of the people" usually sought an expansion of governmental responsibility over a more conservative Congress. Now the roles of Congress and the presidency are reversed.

The conflict is heightened by the fact that Mr. Nixon moved in the domestic arena before the congressional challenge of his war powers was resolved. Pending in Congress, among other

measures, is a bill to require congressional approval of any act of war 30 days after the president initiates it, legislation that faces almost certain veto should it pass both houses.

There is concern in both parties of Congress that the constitutional system is giving way to presidential government without checks.

Spurred by concern over the growth of presidential power, scholars and experts will meet here Wednesday and Thursday to examine what happened to the constitutional provision that Congress makes the laws and the president executes them.

The symposium is sponsored by an informal group headed by Sen. Harold Hughes, D., Iowa.

Assessment

One of the participants is Mr. Commager, whose books on the American past have been read by two generations of students.

When asked recently for his opinion of how President Nixon's use of presidential power compared to that of previous presidents, Mr. Commager said:

"He has usurped or aggrandized authority in almost every field. Even in wartime—the only thing comparable is the Civil War, which was a very special kind of war and therefore the kind of instantaneous action that Lincoln took was domestically required—even in wartime, it seems to me, there was no such broad-gauged and wide-fronted assault on the integrity of the constitutional system as we now have."

President Lincoln, he continued, "did not try to undermine the court, for example, as Nixon is undermining the court. He did not challenge the power of Congress over appropriations as Nixon is doing. He did not exert executive prerogatives and executive privileges as Nixon is doing. Not only for himself but for his successors, he was setting a precedent that is being followed today."

This is an extreme but not uncommon view.

A far different opinion was expressed by Theodore J. Lowi, a political scientist formerly of the University of Chicago and now at Cornell University, author of "The End of Liberalism," published in 1969. Mr. Lowi believes that presidential power took a quantum jump not under Mr. Nixon, but under President Kennedy, especially in management of the economy.

He said that Congress over the years had placed itself in a state of "permanent receivership" by



President Nixon chatting with House majority leader Carl Albert (left) and minority leader Gerald Ford at a White House breakfast for congressional leaders.

delegation of authority to the president, that the struggle now is essentially a partisan one between a Republican president and a Democratic Congress and that Mr. Nixon is doing no more than institutionalizing powers used by his predecessors. But Mr. Lowi is no less disturbed than Mr. Commager about erosion of congressional authority.

In 1968, shortly before his election, Mr. Nixon delivered a radio address describing his views of the presidency.

"The days of a passive presidency belong to a simpler past," he said. "Let me be very clear about this: The next president must take an activist view of his office. He must articulate the nation's values, define its goals and marshal its will. Under a Nixon administration, the presidency will be deeply involved in the entire sweep of American public concern. The first responsibility of leadership is to gain mastery over events, and shape the future in the image of our hopes."

Some Surprise

This is the kind of presidency that liberal Democrats had been advocating for generations and are still advocating, but with more checks. Mr. Nixon's assistants and supporters seem surprised that anyone would question his use of power. They insist that he is acting within a constitutional framework to carry out a "mandate" given in November's elections, when the President won re-election by a landslide.

An article of faith in the White House is an analysis of last year's elections by Kevin Phillips, columnist and former Justice Department official, which takes issue with Democratic congressional leaders who say Congress, too, has a national mandate, one that is quite different from Mr. Nixon's.

"Note that in the last election," he wrote, "Senate candidates endorsing Nixon or effectively refusing to support Sen. George McGovern won a heavy national majority of the popular vote cast for senator. If available, statistics for House races would probably be similar. Most Southern Democrats refused to support McGovern or were more or less openly for Nixon. Add their votes to the votes of the GOP Nixon supporters and you have a majority."

Thus, the reasoning goes, not only did the presidential election constitute endorsement of the Nixon war moves and a "mandate" to eliminate Mr. Johnson's Great Society social programs, but the congressional elections did, too. Whatever the accuracy of the Phillips analysis, there is deep faith in the White House that Mr. Nixon is confident of having public opinion on his side that he is in no mood to proceed with more restraint.

There is a strong belief among scholars and observers that Mr. Nixon could well win the fight with Congress on both the spending and the war-powers issues. He is reported to be "confident of having the votes in Congress to block the overriding of his vetoes. A two-thirds vote in each house is required to override a presidential veto."

The Supreme Court, these observers say, is not likely to offer Congress much hope on constitutionality. Traditionally, the court has steered clear of fights between the two other branches, refusing to take such cases brought before it.

Further, there is a long tradition of presidents making their own peace, with public opinion and their desire to look good in history being the chief restraints. Woodrow Wilson, writing in 1907 before his election to the office, said: "The president is at liberty both in law and conscience to be as big a man as he can. His capacity will set the limit."

Ironies Noted

The struggle is filled with ironies. One is that Mr. Nixon seems to be expanding the powers of his office in order to bring about a more conservative period in which the national government, and thus the presidency, would play a lesser role in the national life.

In this century, the presidency has grown to have such enormous prestige and received so much public attention that it is the

instrument of government Americans look to most—from national defense to securing social justice. Mr. Nixon's statement in his second inaugural address urging more self-reliance—"Ask not just what I can do for you, but what you can do for yourself"—was viewed widely as an effort to persuade Americans to look less to the White House, especially for social services and redistribution of the wealth. In this sense, if he succeeds, the powers of the presidency would be lessened.

Clinton Rossiter, the historian, wrote during the Eisenhower administration that the 20th-century presidency had emerged as a defender of poor minorities, an advocate of civil liberties and civil rights, an opponent of "those who would drag us backward into the swamps of primitivism and oppression."

Mr. Cronin, of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, said that Mr. Nixon is the first modern president to take the side of the affluent majority in these matters and to take positions that "contradict the American dream." This opinion, of course, is strongly rejected by Nixon supporters, but it nevertheless has wide currency and is at the root of many of the fears about the Nixon government.

Another fear is the effect of

the 22d Amendment, which limits presidents to two terms and was ratified after the four-term Roosevelt administration. James MacGregor Burns of Williams College, who has written widely on the presidency, said "Nixon is our only acknowledged... lame-duck president in history except Eisenhower" who governed with restraint.

Mr. Burns suggested that Mr. Nixon might be moving with more caution if he had a chance of winning another term. An advocate of a strong presidency, Mr. Burns said that the office should have more power in domestic matters, not less, but that the president should be under more political restraints, and one restraint would be imposed if the 22d Amendment were abolished.

Mr. Rossiter, in "The American Presidency," published in 1966, wrote: "The president is not a Gulliver, immobilized by 10,000 tiny cords, not even a Prometheus, chained to a rock of frustration. He is, rather, a kind of magnificent lion who can roam widely and do great deeds so long as he does not try to break loose from his broad reservation."

The reservation has become considerably larger since the relatively gentle Eisenhower years and the boundaries are now in dispute.

Italian Newsmen Meet On Threats to the Press

By Paul Hofmann

ROME (NYT)—The professional organization of Italian newsmen, in an extraordinary leadership meeting last week, discussed what it termed ominous developments in the information media and issued a warning that "freedom of the press in Italy is in danger."

The group, the National Press Council, specifically denounced alleged "maneuvers" by "power brokers" to buy control of the influential daily Corriere della Sera of Milan.

Corriere della Sera is Italy's largest-circulation newspaper, more than 800,000 copies on weekdays and considerably more on Sundays—and enjoys considerable prestige at home and abroad.

The daily is owned by members of the Crespi family, which is well connected with north Italian business and industry.

Although the circulation of Corriere della Sera has been increasing lately, the company publishing it is going through a profit squeeze. Losses by the company's evening newspaper, Corriere delle Informazioni—and by some of its magazines are blamed for

the unsatisfactory financial performance.

Rumors that Corriere della Sera might be for sale have been circulating for some time but were repeatedly denied by the publishers. At any rate, there seems to be no lack of would-be purchasers. Powerful groups backed by oil and chemical-industry interests are said to have made offers to some of the co-owners of Corriere della Sera to sell out.

At the same time, rightist groups and newspapers have been stepping up a campaign against the Milan newspaper, charging its editorial policy with drifting toward the left. Leftist and liberal press commentators in the last few days have denounced these attacks on Corriere della Sera as attempts to pressure the present publishers into selling the newspaper and thus change its editorial line.

The 97-year-old paper has traditionally been a moderate voice of the northern Italian establishment. A year ago, a new managing editor, Piero Ottone, took over, and the newspaper's posture has since then slightly veered toward a liberal line.

An American tourist in Mexico, for example, is advised to take anti-malaria pills depending on the area of Mexico he visits.

Malaria generally causes such symptoms as chills, followed by fever, sweating, headache and generalized malaise. It can kill swiftly—in just a few hours. However, because the symptoms can begin insidiously, often a malaria patient mistakenly thinks he has just a case of the flu when he comes down with malaria 10 days or longer after a mosquito bite. And sometimes physicians misdiagnose malaria as a viral disease.

Travelers' Risk Pinpointed

WHO Issues Comprehensive Malaria Guide

By Lawrence K. Altman
GENEVA (NYT)—World Health Organization doctors have published what they consider to be the first comprehensive guide defining a traveler's risk of getting malaria in all countries.

The aim is to reduce the small but mounting number of lives that malaria, probably the most common disease of man, is claiming among tourists and businessmen.

In the age of jet travel, an unprecedented number of persons are visiting developing countries in tropical areas where they are exposed to diseases such as malaria which their own countries controlled years ago.

Public health doctors have warned that hazards exist when tourists do not take proper medical precautions. WHO experts estimated in interviews here that each year several thousand persons become ill from malaria after returning home from foreign travel.

Despite malaria's importance in public health, travelers, travel agents and doctors until now had no source which revealed specifically where malaria occurs. They

had to rely on a World Health Organization map that vaguely outlined the dangerous areas.

However, because the map did not show the small urban or rural areas where sanitarians had controlled the spread of malaria within developing countries, American and European doctors could make only crude guesses when advising patients about the need to take anti-malarial pills.

To be effective, such drugs must be taken before, during and after even short vacations to Africa, some areas of Central America and elsewhere.

Two Years
Now, by consulting the WHO guide, a doctor or traveler can learn just where malaria exists in any country on the itinerary. The data, which took the WHO staff more than two years to

Uganda: a 'Paradise' Where Deep Problems Are Hidden

By Stanley Meisler

KAMPALA, Uganda.—A visitor to Uganda these days has a hard time proving what he knows. The facts are beyond doubt. For more than a year, Uganda has lived with cruelty, repression and bloodshed. But it does not look that way.

In a long news conference with 15 foreign correspondents last Wednesday, Gen. Idi Amin, the president of Uganda, said: "I think Uganda is paradise country in Africa."

No one believed that Uganda is no paradise. Nor does it look like one. But its facade is impressive. On the surface, right now, Uganda looks calm and untroubled. In some ways, in fact, Uganda looks much as it did before Gen. Amin and his soldiers seized power in January, 1971. The big difference is the absence of Asians.

Does this mean that Uganda really is calm and untroubled? Perhaps. But more likely not. All the invisible evidence—the fact the figures, the assessments of diplomats, the worries of people who live in Uganda day and night—indicates that Uganda is in trouble.

What a visitor sees proves only that the troubles are subtle, difficult to perceive. Although Uganda is run by soldiers, many of whom substitute their guns for the law, a visitor sees very few of them now. Menacing soldiers with arms do not guard the international airport at Entebbe or the government buildings in this capital. There are no longer any military roadblocks on the main roads from the airport to Kampala. During one day's visit to Uganda, I noticed, aside from the army and air force commanders flanking Gen. Amin, only two jeeps of soldiers all day.

Lush, Green

Uganda, to a visitor, does not have the feel of a military or police state.

The 21-mile trip from Entebbe on Lake Victoria to the hills of Kampala is much as it always was. The land is lush and green. People crowd the sides of the roads, for this still is one of the



Uganda President Idi Amin, a former boxer, makes a point at a press conference.

most densely populated areas of Africa. From afar, Kampala is a beautiful city, with office buildings and homes clustered on green hills. The Hindu temple, with its swirls and towers, is still the most exotic landmark.

Kampala was once one of the most Asian of East African towns. Ten years ago, almost half the city was Asian. Until six months ago, before Gen. Amin expelled the Asians, Asians owned the vast majority of shops there. But, on this visit during a morning walk through the shopping district of town, I came upon only two Asians.

Yet someone new to Kampala and oblivious of history would see little wrong or unusual. There is scant evidence of past cruelty. The victims of the expulsion are gone. Their shops are back in operation now, run by blacks.

The sign-painters in town have had a busy season. Almost every shop has a signboard on which painters have blocked out the

name of the old Asian firm and printed the new African name over it. Other boards are new.

Occasionally, the new owners have displayed imagination in devising names for their shops. One electrical appliance shop, when owned by an Asian, was called TransElectric. The new black owner, taking his cue from Gen. Amin's claim that he threw out the Asians to give Africans economic independence, calls his shop the New TransAfrican Economic Independence Co.

Exodus Noted

Another African, commemorating the mass departure of the Asians, has called his new restaurant the Exodus Restaurant for Taste.

But, in the main, the new African shop owners have taken the old Asian habit of giving their shops family names. The African names offer a hint of trouble. Many names are Moslem, like

Musa and Brothers or Fatuma Abdullah.

Although most Ugandans are Christians, Gen. Amin and many of his top army officers are Moslems. Many Ugandans believe that the army officers who allocated the shops favored Moslems over Christians. Judging by the signboards, the percentage of Moslem names does seem out of proportion.

Most of the shops seem fully stocked, but almost none of the goods are new. The Asians were forced to leave almost everything behind. Jewelry shops, however, are an exception. The new African owners have enormous stocks of empty jewelry boxes, but almost no jewelry.

One African jewelry shop, in fact, is selling locally made clothing for children. The expelled Asians, forbidden to take their wealth with them, evidently bought out Kampala's jewelry before they left, hoping to slip out with rings and bracelets.

No Figure Set

But no figure has been set. It is doubtful that the government will demand money from African shopkeepers who go out of business in the future.

In addition, Kampala would not be hurt now by a reduction in its shops. Kampala needed many of these shops in the past for its Asian community, the only real middle class in town. They are gone, and the poorer Africans do not need as many.

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New Anin Ruling

KAMPALA, Uganda, March 4 (Reuters).—President Amin announced tonight that all businesses except banks on several of Kampala's main shopping streets must be "run and managed by black Ugandans."

The measure will affect a number of large British, German and Arab-owned firms, including the Uganda offices of the British Overseas Airways Corp. and British Caledonian.

In a statement broadcast by Radio Uganda, Gen. Amin also announced that "business names which are not truly Ugandan are prohibited on these roads."

APR 11 1973

Germans Still Dedicated to Eventual Reunification

By Hubert J. Erb

BERLIN (AP)—Even as the world recognizes a second German state with its capital in West Berlin, West German policy makers and the people of the divided German nation hope for eventual reunification.

Leading spokesmen for both the West German government of Chancellor Willy Brandt and the opposition party Christian Democratic Union agreed in separate interviews that reunification must be achieved, somehow, someday.

They also say that there can be no doubt that the German people, divided by East and West at the end of World War II, feel themselves to be part of one German nation.

Agreement ends, however, with how each party, government and opposition, views the basic treaty of normalized relations with the Communist East German government. The treaty will be ratified this spring and the two rival Germans thereupon will enter the United Nations in New York.

Stepping Stone

The Brandt government, which negotiated the treaty, sees it as a stepping stone toward accommodation and eventual cooperation while immediately bettering the lot of all the divided people.

The opposition party does not agree. It says the treaty harms the chances of eventual reunification because it recognizes an "unpopular Communist regime that does not want rapprochement within a national entity."

Both sides do agree that the basic treaty does not preclude an eventual peace treaty but differ on the urgency for coming to terms with Germany's conquerors of nearly 30 years ago.

Each sees China in a different light.

In replies to questions presented by the Associated Press, four leading West German political figures gave their views on these and other matters in interviews in Bonn and Berlin.

They included Egon Bahr, Chancellor Brandt's Eastern affairs specialist, former Chancellor Ludwig Erhard of the Christian Democratic Union, West Berlin Mayor Klaus Schuetz and Bonn government spokesman Ruediger von Weichmar.

Mr. Bahr and Mr. Schuetz are members of Mr. Brandt's Social Democratic party, while Mr. von Weichmar belongs to the small Free Democratic party in coalition with that of Mr. Brandt.

Mr. Bahr, once a Bonn commentator for a U.S.-controlled West Berlin radio station, Mr. von Weichmar, formerly a newsman for a U.S. wire service, and



Egon Bahr

Mr. Schuetz, who took graduate studies at Harvard University, all spoke in English.

Mr. Erhard replied in German.

On Reunification

Their comments on German reunification:

Mr. Bahr: "We in the Federal Republic believe that reunification, which is an aim embodied in our constitution, will ultimately become possible. What that reunification will eventually be like, no one can say today."

"We shall continue to reject the government and social systems of the East German Democratic Republic... A solution to the German question is only conceivable if the division of Europe is ended. The aim is to reach a state of peace in Europe which will open up the way also for Germans to decide themselves on their own future. It is a long way to go, but the first steps have been taken."

Mr. Erhard: "It is my firm conviction, without being able even remotely to set a date, that Germany will be reunited in an hour of grace. But no one can presume that the free part of Germany—West Germany—would agree to a reunification under the sign of Communism. The Germans in their history, habit, tradition, in their moral, democratic attitude are part of the free Western world."

"This should also be considered by the country and people of the United States instead of being satisfied with a 'comfortable' solution of the moment. In addition, all free European states should consider that a further expansion of Communism into the Federal Republic of Germany certainly would not only be an inner German matter, but that such a process would decisively alter the political structure of our old Continent... In my view, the German nation is indivisible."

Mr. von Weichmar: "Reunification... is what we hope for and not only hope. It is also our

stated policy... stated in a letter sent by the German government to the Soviet Union when it concluded a treaty with the Soviet Union and in a letter sent to the East German government when we concluded a treaty with the East German government."

Mr. Schuetz: "We are not waiting for miracles. We are doing today what can be done in order to help people."

The four were asked if the divided Germans, separated since 1945, still feel themselves to be parts of the same nation.

Mr. Bahr: "I am sure that the people, no matter in which of the two German states they live, see themselves as members of one nation. I admit, however, and I will not conceal that I deplore the fact that the government in East Berlin thinks differently of it."

Mr. Erhard: "From the attitudes of the people, I would assume that they still feel themselves part of one nation and suffer from division. But the appropriate passages in the basic treaty—with East Germany—are too hazy, too ambivalent to be interpreted by the rest of the world as a clear standpoint of the Germans themselves, much less their governments..."

Mr. von Weichmar: "The Germans consider themselves part of one nation... yes, indeed... both sides, although it appears the Germans in East Germany have a different understanding of what the German nation is... at least the published statements of their leaders indicate this. But this may not necessarily represent the general feeling of the people."

Mr. Schuetz: "I am quite sure that the divided people feel themselves to be part of one nation... but people's feelings do not always find expression in treaties..."

Nation's Voice

With two German states equal to each other, who speaks for the nation?

Mr. Bahr: "The German state that looks best after the interests of the nation will be the one to speak for the nation. This is part of the competition between the two German governments. Some day the people belonging to this nation will have to answer this question."

Mr. Erhard: "Article 4 of the basic treaty states that neither of the two states may represent the other internationally or act in its name. Apparently, there is to be no spokesman for the nation... but—that Germany which since its foundation has recognized the laws of the UN Charter and which recognized a democratic order is primarily desig-



Ruediger von Weichmar

nated to speak for the German nation. There can be no forbidding of any German citizen to appeal to the German nation."

Mr. von Weichmar: "The basic treaty for... ruling the relations between the two Germans... specifies in one of its articles that neither of the two Germans will be able to or have the legitimate right to speak for the other. That is to say, each Germany speaks for itself."

Mr. Schuetz: "The Federal Republic of Germany is a freely elected government... The government of the German Democratic Republic is not elected in the same way. Everyone knows what a gulf there frequently is between statements made by non-elected governments and the feeling of the people. But I am not keen to derive out of this a circumstance for a sole right of representation of the German nation for the Federal Republic. This contention led only up a blind alley in the past."

Decision to Divide

Why was Germany divided in the first place?

Mr. Bahr: "The division of Germany is a consequence of the war and of developments, mainly influenced by Stalin, after the surrender of the Third Reich. The coalition of the victors of World War II broke up as early as 1946. Instead of governing Germany together, as they had decided in Potsdam, the Soviet Union and the three Western occupying powers—the United States, Britain and France—contended for zones of influence in Europe. None wanted to lose control of its part."

Mr. Erhard: "Germany lost the war so totally and absolutely that the German people, whether humbled or fatalistic, had to bow before the will of the victors..."

Mr. von Weichmar: "...The wartime Allies could not agree on a central government for Germany and... the Communists at that

time were trying to incorporate their occupation zone into their empire."

Mr. Schuetz: "Very soon... after the last war... there developed between the Western powers on the one hand and the Soviet Union on the other what we call the cold war. The fronts between the former Allies hardened. The borders in Germany became the borders between spheres of power. Everyone was talking about the unity of Germany but in a certain sense the restoration of German unity no longer was possible... These hardening fronts led to the German Democratic Republic completely sealing its borders after hundreds of thousands of people had run away... Families were divided, roads, rails and telephone connections severed. Anyone who has ever been to Berlin knows how far this division of Germany went."

To Avert Drift

Mayor Schuetz emphasized that the basic treaty concluded by the Brandt government with East Germany is intended to prevent the German people from drifting even further apart.

The wide gap between the government's interpretation and that of the opposition Christian Democrats, who ruled West Germany in the first 20 years of its existence, was best illustrated by the statements of Mr. Bahr and Mr. Erhard.

Chancellor Brandt, Mr. Bahr declared, offered East Germany a basic treaty in 1969 as he became chancellor. Afterward, treaties with Moscow and Warsaw were concluded and, late in 1972, the basic accord with East Berlin was signed.

"The treaty," Mr. Bahr stated, "settles the official relations between the two states on the principle that no state can speak for the other. It provides guidelines for practical cooperation in numerous fields, ranging to contacts among the people. It thus promotes the cohesion of the nation."

"The treaty," Mr. Bahr said, "is designed to make life easier for all Germans while the nation is divided. It does not stand in the way of a peace treaty."

Mr. Bahr also stressed that East Germany had identified itself with the West German aim to develop an organized modus vivendi into cooperation between the two states.

Without blurring the ideological differences that remain, Mr. Bahr said, "we shall develop cooperation in the spheres where it exists and step by step open up new fields of cooperation. The aim of arriving from the present



Klaus Schuetz

state of affairs to a relationship of cooperation with the German Democratic Republic is no longer utopian."

Mr. Erhard began his reply by describing the accord with East Germany as "a so-called basic treaty." He said it cannot be allowed to exclude an eventual peace treaty, still lacking between Germany and its conquerors. The treaty between the German states, Mr. Erhard emphasized, "makes it absolutely urgent that there be a peace treaty if a lasting peace is to be preserved in Europe."

"The attitude of the German people in relation to the basic treaty," Mr. Erhard said, "never can be a unified one because of different social and legal opinions in a divided land. It is to be feared that the inequality between 'giving and taking' more likely will lead to new tensions rather than to a normalization."

"For the Federal Republic of Germany," the former chancellor said, "the basic treaty becomes a confirmation of the division of Germany..."

"There are differentiating moral categories and political dimensions that will prevent this treaty ever being accorded historic finality," Mr. Erhard said.

China Contacts

Mr. Bahr also downplayed Christian Democratic efforts to achieve greater contact with China in the hope of getting a better deal for Germany from the Russians.

It was the opposition party that broke the ice with Peking for the Brandt government, its contracts leading to diplomatic relations for Bonn with the Chinese.

Christian Democratic party spokesmen said that the Brandt rapprochement with the Soviet bloc should have awaited concessions from a Russia that is increasingly concerned with China.

Mr. Bahr, citing West Germany's geographic position at the intersection of conflicting East-West interests, declared:

"International tensions affect the balance of power in Europe and, thus, have a direct bearing on the security of the Federal Republic of Germany. An aggravated confrontation between Moscow and Peking would not be conducive to our reunification, but, quite on the contrary, impede it even more. The Federal Republic of Germany is, therefore, interested in détente becoming a worldwide concern."

Mr. Erhard added an appeal that West Germany maintain its social-economic order of reward based on accomplishment, the Christian Democrats accusing Mr. Brandt's Social Democrats of trying to implant a socialist system.

Directed Recovery

As economics minister, Mr. Erhard personally directed German postwar economic recovery. He said that he was alarmed by what he called signs of political and moral degeneration that could affect what had been accomplished.

Without identifying the causes further, Mr. Erhard said that this process of deterioration even threatened to lame German resistance to totalitarian state and social reforms that would destroy democracy and freedom.

"Competition, rich with blessings and social benefits," the former chancellor said, "is being undermined by the rejection of a social order based on accomplishment."

He said that the inflation affecting Germany today cannot be traced to the results of two world wars.

"But that is no consolation," he said. "The inflation spreading worldwide does not come from natural causes equal to the catastrophe of two world wars but is an expression of our own failure in the midst of a world that became increasingly better off."

East May Gain

Financial worries particularly affect West Berlin, which is cut off by surrounding Communist East Germany. The half city had the highest increase in the cost of living in 1972 of any city in West Germany, 6.5 percent compared to an average of about 5.4 percent.

Concern also has been expressed that East Berlin will gain in importance because it now is a capital city while West Berlin remains an occupied area with its political ties to West Germany.



Ludwig Erhard

still disputed by the Communist side.

Mayor Schuetz, however, expressed confidence in the city's future.

"East Berlin," he said, "will not acquire any attraction solely by virtue of being a recognized capital city. But one thing is certain. Because the two parts of Berlin will be compared with each other more than ever before, both parts must make every effort to be attractive in the positive sense of the word."

"We are not afraid of that comparison," the mayor said. "I am sure that life in West Berlin will always stand comparison with life in the East. I invite everybody in East and West to come in a year's time and return every year to Berlin and compare. I will make a bet. West Berlin will always be a lively and attractive metropolis of Europe."

Prague, Vienna Set Border Unit

BRATISLAVA, Czechoslovakia, March 4 (Reuters).—Austria and Czechoslovakia yesterday announced that they had agreed to establish a special commission to deal with frontier incidents that have strained Austro-Czechoslovak ties in the past.

Agreement was reached after talks here between Austrian and Czechoslovak foreign ministers, Rudolf Kirchschlager and Bohuslav Chmoupek—the first formal meeting between the two countries at this ministerial level since 1968.

Bilateral relations were strained last year after Czechoslovak border guards crossed into Austrian territory to arrest a Czechoslovak émigré who was shot while waiting for his wife to cross into Austria.

The situation eased however, when the Prague authorities released Jaromir Masarik, now a resident of South Africa, in December.



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The Irrelevance of Terror

There is no comparison between the degree of terror exerted by the Black Septembrists in Khartoum and by the American Indian movement at Wounded Knee. The former have surrendered after killing three diplomats; the latter have declared a cease-fire after some random shots and looting. But both were acts of force, intended to serve a cause; each fell so far short of the complexity and significance of the case itself as to demigrate it.

Both Khartoum and Wounded Knee have their memories of massacre. But it would be illusory to try to draw analogies between the Mahdists who slew Gordon and the defenders of Sudan's capital and the Seventh Cavalry who shot down the Sioux at Wounded Knee, or between the fanaticism that swept El Mahdi to power or the ghost-dance cult that led to the last Indian wars. More to the point are the historical tragedies that drove the Palestinians out of their land and made the Indians outcasts in theirs.

There simply are no easy answers to the problems posed by those tragedies, although many facile suggestions have been made for both. The conflict between the Jewish state and those who possessed most of its area when that state was founded is as complex as the millennia which have overlaid Palestine with so many cultures, so many creeds, so many peoples. The destruction of the Indian way of life has the inevitability of those folk movements which, down through history, have brought pastoralists into the country of hunters, and supplanted the herdsman with farmers. It is recent enough to

give the victors a sense of guilt and the defeated a sense of wrong. But that does not make adaptation between the two any simpler.

Given such a background, what does the murder of three diplomats or larceny in a store have to do with the basics? What does it imply for those in Palestinian refugee camps, or on Indian reservations? Frantz Fanon would say, on the basis both of his negritude and his psychological studies, that violence is a "cleansing force" that "frees the native from his inferiority complexes." But who is the native in this context? Is the Arab the descendant of the Philistine or Samaritan, converted to Islam, or the Bedouin who converted him? Is the Indian the Iroquois, or the Algonkian he carried into slavery? Is the black man the Ethiopian or the Somali, the white man the Russian or the Lithuanian? Who is free from the guilt of colonialism, and how can violence give self-respect without self-destruction?

The world would be wrong to try to escape from its problems by taking refuge in their many-layered ramifications. There is, after all, the hopelessness of the refugee camps and the reservations where valid hope must somehow be restored. But the short cut of violence does not bring that hope. And the old phrase, "To understand all is to pardon all" has rightly been called the devil's logic. It is in the interests of all, including the perpetrators, to end random terror, to outlaw it philosophically as well as legally. By all means, seek to heal the environment in which terror breeds—but, in the meanwhile, repress the irrelevant terror.

The 'Peace' Conference

The Paris Indochina Conference has neither added to nor detracted from the possibility that one day real peace will descend upon Vietnam. Its importance is probably only that it took place, not that it accomplished anything of substance to enhance the settlement terms already accepted by the warring parties.

For the United States it seemed to be a sufficient goal that the great powers and other interested nations would sit down together to greet what had been done. The twelve parties to the final so-called "act" joined to "acknowledge," "express their approval of," and "support" the Jan. 27 Paris agreements. Pointedly absent was any commitment to "guarantee" the ending of the war; under present conditions in South Vietnam any such "guarantee" would have been a mockery, though this was one of the stated purposes in summoning the formal diplomatic assemblage.

So eager was the American delegation to have the conference begin and end as scheduled that it made little fight for certain points which the Nixon administration had hoped could be covered on Hanoi's insistence. United Nations Secretary-General Waldheim was consigned to a position on the sidelines hardly short of insulting to the organization he represents. His only role in implementing the cease-fire arrangements will be to receive occasional reports of how things are going—and lest anyone think this could mean something, the conference specified that such reports will be "for his information" and, thus, not for any possible action of any kind. The conference established no program or procedure for international economic aid to Indochina; Secretary of State Rogers admitted his regret at failing

to make headway on that potentially helpful task.

The most interesting note in the conference came in the trivia of protocol, as symbolic guide to the changes in world policy. It was at the 1954 Geneva Conference on Indochina that John Foster Dulles spurned the outstretched hand of Chinese Premier Chou En-Lai, signaling the ostracism which Washington tried for two futile decades to enforce against the Chinese Communists. By 1973, when the alphabetical order of their countries' names in French found Mr. Dulles's successor sitting next to Chinese Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei, the two diplomats smiled and conversed amiably. It was left to Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko across the table to provide the scowls and studied avoidance of Chinese eyes.

Anyone on the ground in Indochina right now may be excused for mocking the Paris conference as a charade. The talk is peace the reality is war—almost continuous since the cease-fire allegedly came into effect. With the ink of the conference documents scarcely dry, both Vietnamese sides traded extravagant charges of cease-fire violations running into the thousands. Hanoi says Saigon forces are attacking in division strength; Washington says Hanoi is continuing to pour troops into the South. American bombers fly daily combat sorties in Cambodia. Intelligence officers judge the level of combat now, as truce is being celebrated around the world, about the same as last October, when one tried to pretend that the war had ended.

Now that the powers, great and small, have solemnly acknowledged the peace, they need to direct their energies to bringing it about.

THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Upset in Ireland

When Premier Lynch unexpectedly dissolved the Irish Parliament and called a new election last month, most observers—including some opponents—viewed it as another shrewd maneuver by the taoiseach. He had called a snap election under circumstances less favorable for his Fianna Fail government in 1969 and won an absolute majority in the Dail. It was widely expected that he would match or improve that showing this time.

With hindsight it is clear that Mr. Lynch miscalculated on his election call, then lost his political touch as his Fine Gael and Labor party opponents forged a national coalition and campaigned on bread-and-butter issues; more jobs, houses, social benefits, price controls, tax relief, vote to 18-year-olds could be put into effect.

Voters seemed unimpressed by Mr. Lynch's implications that only Fianna Fail could insure national security, crush Irish Republican Army terrorism and protect Eire's interests in any Ulster settlement. They knew Fine Gael had backed Mr. Lynch's bid to take Ireland into the European Community, and that a coalition government would not try to reverse that decision.

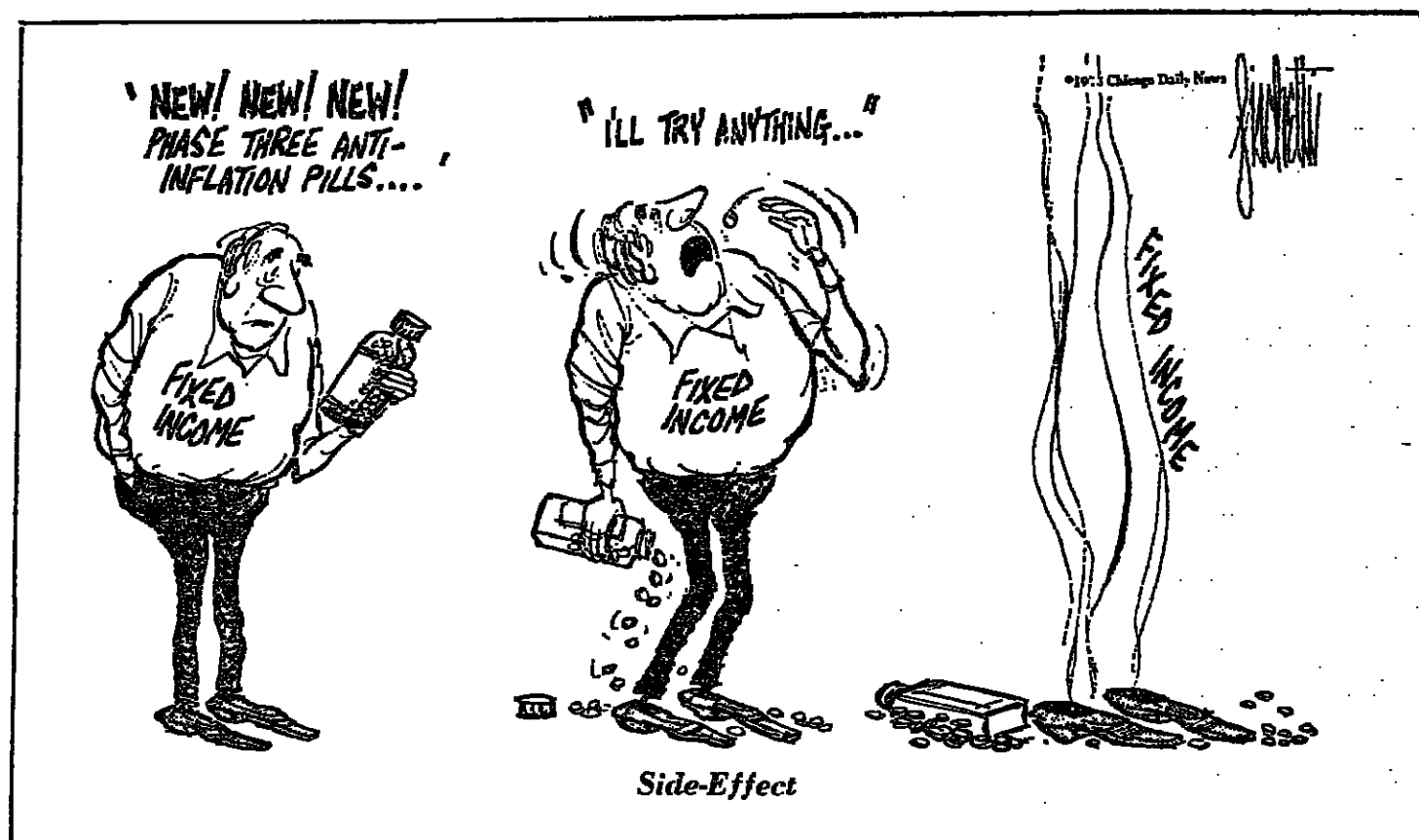
In the International Edition

Seventy-Five Years Ago

March 5, 1898
VICTORIA, B.C.—Passengers on board the steamer Islander, which arrived here today, state that martial law prevails at Skagway and that the troops are enforcing order. They also confirm the report that the British flag has been raised at the summit of the White Pass. But according to American authorities, where the British flag is supposed to have been raised (the summit of White Pass) is 10 miles inside American territory.

Fifty Years Ago

March 5, 1923
WASHINGTON, D.C.—The Senate last night confirmed the nomination of Ambassador Cyrus E. Woods, now at Madrid, to be Ambassador to Japan. He will succeed Ambassador Charles Beecher Warren, who returned to this country recently. Mr. Alexander P. Moore, the Pittsburgh newspaper editor and husband of the late Lillian Russell, has been named as Ambassador to Spain to succeed Ambassador Woods. He has long been prominent in Republican politics.



Side-Effect

Beyond the Specter of International Anarchy

By James Reston

WASHINGTON.—You can hardly read a newspaper or tune in on the evening news these days without thinking that this is a demented world. Israel, living in a state of siege, shoots down a Libyan civilian plane with the loss of more than 100 lives. A few Arab terrorists retaliate by murdering two U.S. diplomats in Khartoum, and the obvious conclusion seems to be that we are living on the verge of anarchy.

Everywhere in the world, the majority of the people seem to be living in fear of the tyranny of the minority. The Communist world, it is the tyranny of rulers; in the non-Communist world, it is the tyranny of the criminals or the money speculators or some combination of forces that influence the lives of most people, which the people do not understand.

Yet, in the perspective of history, anarchy is not the dominating force of this complicated age. The nations have not got hold of their violent minorities, but they are in many ways more conscious now than at any other time in this century that military force will not solve their problems and that they must cooperate abroad in order to solve their problems at home.

Even the United States, with all its monetary and industrial power, finds that it cannot defend the dollar or restore its balance of payments and trade without the cooperation of other countries.

Soviet Shift

The Soviet Union has stopped talking about "burying" the United States and surpassing it in agriculture and industrial production. It is now buying grain from the American Middle West and relying on the computer technology of West Germany and Japan to keep up with the scientific revolution of production and distribution in the West.

Meanwhile, China has come out of isolation, worried about Russia, and is beginning to talk to America, Japan and Europe. The old Gaullist prejudices against Britain and the United States have been modified in France by Pompidou, who has an election to fight, and is now talking, not about nationalism, but about integration and cooperation.

And even in the Middle East, despite the tragedies of the last few days, the cease-fire between Israel and the Arab states continues, and, recently, the leading officials of Jerusalem and Cairo have been here in Washington exploring the possibilities of a peaceful compromise and accommodation.

Anarchy is in the headlines, but anarchy is the nightmare of all these countries, so they are talking and compromising. Vietnam is a symbol of the point. In the headlines, it is a confusing mess, but the trend is toward more negotiation and less violence.

Political Grappling

This is true as well in Washington. A couple of weeks ago, the President and the Congress seemed to be headed for a constitutional crisis over the impending of funds, the freedom of the press to protect its sources of information, the power of the President to make war or peace or grant aid to North Vietnam abroad or amnesty to young Americans who defied the draft or deserted, but all this is changing now, not much but some.

At home, as in Vietnam, the President is beginning to recognize, though not to admit publicly, that "total victory" and "unconditional surrender" are really out of the question. So when Hubert Humphrey and many Republican leaders of Congress say they will go along on reconstruction aid to North Vietnam, but not if it comes out of the domestic budget, the President announces that he will take it out of the defense and security budget. How long this mood will last nobody knows. But the democratic process of compromise is beginning to work, not in the headlines, but in the international conferences in Paris and in the cloakrooms of the Congress on Capitol Hill. It is not going to satisfy the extremist minorities

who want clear and tidy solutions and will go on trying to resolve all these complicated and ambiguous issues by force, but the main thing is that the majority of people in most countries and the leaders of most nations seem to have given up on ideological solutions and are now looking for a way out.

They still have a long way to go. They are still insisting on vast military budgets—the nations of the world are now spending more than \$200 billion a year on arms—and these military expenditures keep them from dealing with the poverty of their peoples.

For example, there isn't a major nation in the world, except Japan, that is not spending on the armed services enormous funds that are desperately needed for food, housing and education at home. President Eisenhower put this point with great force away back

in 1953: "Every gun that is made," he said, "every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies, in the final sense, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed. This world in arms is not spending money alone. It is spending the sweat of its laborers, the genius of its scientists, the hopes of its children."

Common Sense

This problem of priorities has obviously not yet been solved. The problem of the tyrannical minority is still with us, but these are mainly the most obvious headlines on the surface of the world. Underneath, stronger tides of cooperation and common sense are running.

The idea is beginning to get around that the governors of the American states, for example, have

to work together to deal with their common problems across the Potomac and the Hudson or around the Great Lakes.

Similarly, the American cities cannot deal with their urban problems unless they cooperate on transportation, taxes and security with the adjoining suburbs.

So maybe the main point is not that the violent outlaws in the Middle East and elsewhere are dominating the contemporary world, but merely that they are dramatizing the dangers of anarchy and persuading officials in all countries on the necessity of cooperation, order and peace, which most people everywhere seem to want.

Maybe this is the forgotten factor: The minority may want violence and absolute solutions, but the majority in most nations is now ready for compromise and accommodation.

Mexico and the Odd Men Out

By C. L. Sulzberger

NADI, Fiji.—The lovely little reef and atoll islands that dot the South Pacific have particular reason for being pleased with the forthcoming world tour this month of Mexican President Luis Echeverria.

One of his foremost objectives is to get Russia, China and France to sign a protocol acknowledging that all Latin America is a nuclear-free zone and that neither atomic tests nor storage of atomic warheads will be permitted there. The United States and Britain, the only other nuclear powers, have already signed.

Echeverria will visit Moscow, Peking and Paris, among other capitals. He will remind them that in the second protocol of the 1968 Treaty of Tlatelolco it was stipulated that the five nuclear nations would never use Latin America for tests, warhead storage, etc. U.S. signature, in fact, was delayed for a considerable period because of Pentagon reservations.

Doubtful of France

The Mexican president is confident both Moscow and Peking will agree to sign, but he is equally doubtful of any favorable French response. It is not that Paris envisions use of its possessions in Guiana, Martinique or Guadeloupe for nuclear experimentation; simply that it refuses to commit itself to any international pledge that may be regarded as a precedent preventing

ing further tests in the Pacific Archipelago of Tahiti, which is governed by France. The argument is that France's only chance of achieving even its relatively modest nuclear ambitions is by retaining freedom to test when and where it wishes. Its atomic program was expelled from Algeria by that new republic so Paris doesn't wish to risk another expulsion from colonial Tahiti.

The logic employed vaguely resembles that used by the British, who successfully opposed whodunnit their crown colonies of Cyprus and Malta for fear this would lead to relinquishing strategic Gibraltar. But the first two states became independent and nothing has changed in Gibraltar. Beyond this chain of reasoning is the fact that Paris has expended huge sums on testing arrangements near Tahiti and wants its money's worth.

The Pacific test program has aroused enormous political opposition throughout the area's island chains and also in New Zealand and Australia, which promise to exert pressure against Paris. With this background, the Echeverria globe-grinding tour, which is bound to isolate France even more on this delicate subject, cannot help but be welcomed among Pacific peoples.

The issue is sensitive in both Latin America and this region. It arose, officially, when the Tlatelolco agreements were formalized. The treaty itself simply

guaranteed that Latin America would be demilitarized. It was signed by all Latin lands except Cuba, which likes to underline its dissociation from the rest. Chile, Argentina and Brazil signed, but have had second thoughts and refused to ratify the accord. The treaty was accompanied by two protocols. The first specifies that any countries having possessions in the Latin American area will never use them to test or store nuclear devices. Britain and Holland accepted this stipulation, France and the United States did not.

France refused for the reason stated above—that it would not agree to any provision that could be considered a precedent in Tahiti. The United States wanted to avoid prejudicing its position vis-a-vis possible future negotiations concerning its bases in Puerto Rico, Guantanamo (Cuba) or the Canal Zone (Panama).

For Latin America, the U.S. odd-man-out is far more important as an issue than the French odd-man-out. The Latin countries want to extricate the last vestiges of a U.S. physical presence. At this month's Panama meeting of the UN Security Council the subject will certainly be raised.

No Official Stance

Several Latin governments want the Hay-Bunau Varilla Treaty governing U.S.-Panama relations scrapped. Emilio Rabasa, Mexico's foreign minister, told me a few days ago: "We have never taken an official position on this."

"But from my point of view I don't think any treaty should grant rights in perpetuity to a foreign state. This treaty needs revision and a new modus vivendi. And sovereignty over the zone should be awarded to Panama. That would not weaken security in the Western Hemisphere."

But in the Pacific area the French odd-man-out has priority as a whipping boy. Any effort by Echeverria to isolate France from other nuclear powers and thus to make testing around Tahiti more embarrassing and less practicable will be hailed all the way from Australia to Japan and across the archipelagoes lying in between.

Governors On Path to Presidency

By Joseph Kraft

WASHINGTON.—Before World War II, governors commanded the reins for access to the White House. Of the eight presidents elected in this century before 1940, five—McKinley, Wilson, Coolidge and the two Roosevelts—previously governed their states.

Since the war, senators have been favored for the presidency. All six of the major party nominees since 1940—Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Goldwater, Humphrey and McGovern—came from the Senate.

But as the governors met in Washington last week, the pendulum is swinging their way. For a variety of reasons, the governors have a distinct opportunity to assert themselves nationally.

For one thing, most of the states, at least for the time being, find themselves in relatively comfortable financial condition. The period of stagnation, when governors were obliged to concentrate all their efforts on the unpopulated task of raising taxes, is over. Thanks to new taxes and to the recent surge in the economy, many states are unusually flush.

In Florida, Gov. Reubin Askew is working with an estimated surplus of \$300 million. In Wisconsin, Gov. Pat Laury has accumulated for the next two years of the legislature an estimated surplus of \$500 million. In California, Gov. Ronald Reagan estimates his 1973 surplus at about \$650 million.

In New York, the debate is about whether the budget is tight, as Gov. Nelson Rockefeller claims, or loaded with hidden surpluses, as the Democratic leaders of the legislature assert. Governor Evans of Washington, a state particularly hard hit by the slump at the Boeing Co., reports that he has a balanced budget.

With the state treasuries in relatively good shape, governors are able to do all kinds of popular things. Gov. Reagan, for example, is returning over a billion dollars in tax rebates and increased educational services. Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia and Gov. Dale Bumpers of Arkansas have funds available for building roads in the underdeveloped rural sections of their states.

Even those who do not have money to burn can demagogue a little without fearing retribution when it comes to tax legislation. Thus, Gov. Rockefeller is free to take the hardest of hard lines on punishment of drug pushers. Gov. Dan Walker of Illinois meets the energy crisis by turning down the thermostats at state office buildings.

Another boon for the governors is that their ancient war with the mayors has been eased.

The statehouses and the city halls have not struck false alliances yet. But the mayors truly feel that they have been changed because cutbacks in federal services are not being matched by new revenue-sharing funds.

Foreign Policy

The governors complain that President Nixon has moved so abruptly from categorical grants to revenue sharing that they cannot make an orderly transition. Thus, there is emerging an urban-state alliance against the feds. Finally, the governors have working for them the evident decline of foreign policy as the centerpiece of national attention. In the past, a connection with foreign policy was a principal claim advanced by senators who fancied themselves in the White House.

But the ending of the war in Vietnam is only one step in what shapes up as a long process of winding down in this country's commitments abroad. Moreover, the process of ending the war has shown, as Gov. Lucy of Wisconsin pointed out the other day, how little senators really have to do with foreign policy.

Already, the emergence of the governors has found expression in the early betting for 1976. On the Republican side two former governors—John Connally of Texas and Spiro Agnew of Maryland—are the frontrunners. Gov. Rockefeller and Gov. Reagan are right in there; and the senatorial hopefuls are almost invisible. On the Democratic side, John Gilligan of Ohio, Dan Walker of Illinois, Reubin Askew of Florida and Dale Bumpers of Arkansas are all possible candidates. They would come from the front and a big way if Sen. Edward Kennedy proved, once again, not to want the post.

One caveat is in order. The potential strength of the statehouses will be realized only if one governor or another emerges. In the past, the governors have tried to act collectively in national politics and failed ignominiously. If they try joint action again, they will dissipate their efforts in failure once again.

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Eurobonds

Worries About How Europe Solves Dollar Crisis Slows Bond Market

By Carl Gewirtz

PARIS, March 4 (AP)—The "dollar crisis" and "just plain stupid" are comments that have been heard in conversations with money managers, bankers and economists about the chaos in the foreign-exchange markets. Behind their exasperation with the way governments have mismanaged the situation—ranging from Japan's long reluctance to revalue the yen to America's refusal to come to grips with the \$3 billion homeless dollars constituting the Eurodollar pool to the small-scale discussions on reforming the international monetary system—are fears that the present situation will degenerate into a trade war.

It almost appears as if some kind of death wish is being laid out. From August 1971, in the days leading up to the dollar devaluation in that year, experts have repeatedly cautioned that a trade war could result—a threat that seemed incredible. And yet each new crisis, beginning with Britain's decision to float sterling in mid-1972, has carried the capitalist world closer to making fear into reality.

The danger appears to lurk behind any of the options Europe chooses to exercise to halt the huge inflow of dollars into their central banks—an inflow that threatens to undo their ability to control the domestic supply of money and to handle an explosive inflation in countries that are already struggling to keep inflation under control.

The option of a joint ERM float raises almost as many problems as it attempts to solve. It must first be decided whether the joint float follows the lead of the strongest currency—in this case the deutsche mark—meaning that the other ERM

members will see the value of their currency rise against the dollar and thus lose their price competitiveness against dollar-priced goods on outside markets.

If the weakest currency sets the pace, there will be less sacrifice of price competitiveness as the size of the float will be minimal. But Germany (since it has the "strongest" of the ERM currencies) will have to go on accumulating reserves—taking in sterling and lire instead of dollars—and pumping more deutsche marks into circulation (funding German inflation) to keep the mark within the modest-sized float.

Whatever approach is taken, there remains the question of how the individual ERM states will repay their partners for their support operations in the foreign-exchange market. An additional problem is whether national governments are really willing to abdicate total responsibility in establishing the value of their currencies.

The fact that there are no unified ERM monetary or economic policies, in the view of a number of experts, will result in "tremendous political tensions"—the result of inevitable economic frictions—within the Common Market if it attempts a joint float. On the other hand, it could set the stage for the emergence of a truly integrated Europe.

Another option is an independent float. This implies that each ERM state agrees in principle to allow its money to float but will manage it alone and will decide for itself how far it should be allowed to float. If the mark rises a problem. If the mark floats much higher than, say, the French franc, German goods

Economic Indicators

WEEKLY COMPARISONS

	Latest Week	Prior Week	1972
Feb. 24		Feb. 17	
Commodity Index.....	146.1	144.8	112.7
*Currency in circ.....	\$64,867,000	\$64,744,000	\$69,696,000
*Total Loans.....	\$37,181,000	\$37,472,000	\$34,472,000
Steel prod (tons).....	2,993,000	2,883,000	2,439,000
Auto production.....	299,321	217,959	184,558
Daily oil prod. (bbls).....	9,389,000	9,329,000	9,462,000
Freight car loadings.....	506,035	505,792	481,593
*Elec Pwr. kw-hr.....	35,297,000	36,947,000	32,627,000
Business failures.....	188	194	186

Statistics for commercial agricultural loans, carloadings, steel, all electric power and business failures are for the preceding week and latest available.

MONTHLY COMPARISONS

	Jan.	Prior Month	1972
Employed.....	82,555,000	82,786,000	80,578,000
Unemployed.....	4,366,000	4,487,000	5,055,000
Industrial production.....	119.8	119.8	105.7
*Personal income.....	\$985,400,000	\$982,900,000	\$888,900,000
*Money supply.....	\$355,400,000	\$353,500,000	\$336,200,000
Consumer's Price Index.....	127.3	127.3	123.2
Construction Contracts.....	18	163	160

*Mfrs. inventories..... \$107,181,000 \$106,371,000 \$101,685,000
 *Exports..... \$4,468,200 \$4,468,700 \$3,888,000
 *Imports..... \$5,028,400 \$5,027,000 \$4,128,400
 *000 omitted.

Commodity index, based on 1967=100, the consumers price index, based on 1967=100, and employment figures are compiled by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Industrial production is Federal Reserve Board's adjusted index of 1967=100. Imports and exports are compiled by the Department of Commerce. Money supply is total currency outside banks and demand deposits adjusted as reported by Federal Reserve Board. Business failures compiled by Dun & Bradstreet. Inc. Construction contracts are compiled by the F. W. Dodge Division, McGraw-Hill Information Systems Company.

might be priced out of the French market. And any slowdown in German sales threatens to slow the entire economy—which raises the fear that Germany's industry may sharply cut its purchases of French goods. And that raises the possibility of a spreading ERM-wide economic slowdown.

Other options include creating a two-tier market—which Germany has repeatedly maintained

cannot be done because it does not have the infrastructure to supervise it; continuing to support the present dollar parities—implying very serious inflationary problems for Germany; or erecting very strong barriers to capital movements—which some fear takes the capitalist world a step closer to protectionism.

It remains to be seen whether (Continued on Page 11, Col. 1)

Speculators Cause New Dollar Turmoil While U.S. Clarifies Its Fiscal Policies

By Thomas E. Mullaney

NEW YORK, March 4 (AP)—

In the words of a rampant cliché of the day, there was good news and bad news last week for the worlds of business and finance. But whether one outweighed the other was difficult to ascertain.

It is certainly a hypertensive era in the economic realm, with American economic policy in question, the international political and economic situation in turmoil and the domestic financial markets enveloped in an exceedingly pessimistic mood.

First, the good news: clarification came in two areas of uncertainty in the United States—interest-rate policy and the government's attitude on wage increases. And statistics on the performance of the U.S. economy continued to reveal its inherent strength.

The bad news was centered on monetary developments abroad, where the dollar was subjected again to major attack by speculators while the free-market gold price remained grossly inflated at levels more than twice its official rate. The foreign-exchange markets of Europe and Japan had to be closed again to give governments and bankers a breathing spell to cope with the new turbulence.

President Nixon tried to reinforce the view that the U.S. economy was sound when he said at a news conference on Friday that the dollar would survive the recent surge of speculation and that "there will not be another devaluation."

Strong Economy

Indeed, the dollar is probably overvalued and the U.S. economy is strong, although under tight anti-inflationary rein.

However, it will take time for those realities to become evident

and for international currency speculators to become convinced that the United States will stay the course in its new restrictive policies, and that it will adopt comprehensive new legislation to bolster its trade and enhance its bargaining power in upcoming international trade negotiations, even though it may mean a partial departure from the nation's traditional liberal-trade stance.

The international currency

developments of the last two weeks have to start heading in the direction when it allowed rises, both in the discount rate and in the prime lending rate of the banks, and indicated an abandonment of the rigid 5.5 percent guideline for wage increases this year.

The interest-rate actions will

obviate the likelihood of distortions in the money markets and will eliminate non price rationing of credit.

After just two months of 1973 it is obvious that the strong upward thrust in the economy that President Nixon and an overwhelming consensus of economists have predicted for 1973 has begun.

The expansion is broad-based, but it is being fueled principally by a surge in consumer spending for a wide array of goods and services. Despite the host of domestic and international anxieties, the public remains confident, affluent and willing to spend on a lavish scale.

Although the economy is traveling at a record pace as the end of the first quarter approaches, it may well be expected to moderate its advance later in the year from the effects of the restrictive monetary and fiscal policies now in effect.

The securities and commodities markets were buffeted last week by the rekindled crisis in European currency trading. The value of the dollar plummeted, and for a while, so did the U.S. securities markets.

The rationale apparently was that the monetary crisis might evolve into a breakdown in international trade that might ultimately lead to a worldwide depression comparable to the 1930s. Remote as the possibility seemed, it was used as an excuse to unload stocks and bonds.

The stock market was down for most of the week. But the Dow Jones Industrial average, consisting of only 30 issues, rallied Friday and lifted itself into plus territory by 1.43 points for the week. It closed at 861.32. The Dow's one-day gain of 11.67 points began with a sharp turn-around at the 940 support area and appeared largely technical.

Amex and Over-Counter

By Alexander R. Hammer

NEW YORK, March 4 (AP)—Renewed pressure on the dollar overseas and increasing concern over inflation sent prices sharply lower last week in the over-the-counter market and on the American Stock Exchange.

A fresh monetary crisis swept across Europe on Thursday, less than three weeks after the dollar was devalued for the second time in 14 months. It induced heavy selling of the weakened dollar, and foreign-exchange centers in Europe and Japan were closed as a result on Friday.

Brokers noted that the battering of the dollar caused considerable selling of stocks here by worried investors. Although the monetary crisis should have no direct impact on corporate earnings in the United States, the stock market has repeatedly demonstrated a particular sensitivity to overseas developments.

Investors' fears about inflation and tight money also helped depress most issues. Their anxiety was increased by the news that the federal reserve had approved rises in the discount rate and by the increases in the prime rate unveiled by many banks last Monday.

Bearish Tone

The bearish tone of the market was pinpointed by the performance of the NASDAQ over-the-counter industrial index, which finished on Friday at 116.87, down 3.57 from the previous Friday.

It was little different on the Amex, where the exchange's price index dropped 0.30 to 24.63.

Turnover on the exchange expanded to 19,828,195 shares from 13,864,000 shares the week before, which only had four trading sessions because of Washington's Birthday. A total of 85 blocks changed hands last week against 50 blocks the week before.

The volume leader on the Amex was Champion Home Builders, which lost 5/8 to 8 5/8 on a turnover of 1,628,300 shares. The company said on Friday it would meet its previous earnings' projection of 55 cents a share for fiscal 1973.

Over-Counter Market

High Low Last Chg

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Bond Sales on the New York Stock Exchange

Domestic Bonds				
Bonds	Sales in \$1,000 High Low Last	Net change		
Abbot 7 1/2	10 10 10 10 10	0		
Abbot 8 1/2	10 10 10 10 10	0		
Abbot 9 1/2	10 10 10 10 10	0		
Abbot 10 1/2	10 10 10 10 10	0		
Abbot 11 1/2	10 10 10 10 10	0		
Abbot 12 1/2	10 10 10 10 10	0		
Abbot 13 1/2	10 10 10 10 10	0		
Abbot 14 1/2	10 10 10 10 10	0		
Abbot 15 1/2	10 10 10 10 10	0		
Abbot 16 1/2	10 10 10 10 10	0		

ASL (INTERNATIONAL) S.A.

is

establishing a new factory in IRELAND with all the financial and administrative help of the Irish government.

As our know-how is so great, we assure our investors that in a few years' time they shall double or triple their capital.

Please write for further information to:

ASL AG
Boerstrasse 73,
6300 Zug,
Switzerland.

ANGLO-SUISSE S.A.

is

looking for shareholders to buy a bank having a value of \$5,000,000.

This bank exists in a Common Market country and was established 40 years ago.

The potential of this Common Market country is enormous and it is without doubt that in three years' time the invested capital will be returned by 100% after local taxes have been paid.

Individuals or financing institutions are invited to write for a personal meeting with the representative of the local interested shareholders.

Write to: Intercontinental C.H.,
11 Chemin Terroux,
Cointin - Genève.

GRAMCO INTERNATIONAL S.A.

is pleased to announce that it has changed its name to

ATLANTIC MANAGEMENT S.A.

Claughton House, Shirley Street, Nassau, N.P., Bahamas

Smith, Barney International

Incorporated

Telephone 01-600 5633 Telex 886595 Cable Bondsmit

We are pleased to announce that we have relocated our London office to

9 Basinghall Street, London EC 2V 5HL

Successful start

WELLS FARGO LIMITED

Balance Sheet at 31st December 1972

Shareholders' Funds	£	Current Assets	£
Share Capital	204,101	Cash and balances at bankers	7,056,189
Authorised, issued and fully paid		Certificates of Deposit	16,049,773
2,000,000 Ordinary Shares of £1	2,000,000	Debtors and prepayments	1,154,946
Retained Profits	168,050	Loans and advances repayable within one year	6,676,926
	2,168,050		
Subordinated Loan	2,132,196	Loans and Advances repayable after 31st December 1973	28,890,884
U.S. \$5,000,000 due 1982	4,300,246	Other Assets	200,660
Deposit and Current Accounts	51,685,490		
Certificates of Deposit Issued	3,270,789		
Other Liabilities	976,954		
TOTAL LIABILITIES	60,233,479	TOTAL ASSETS	60,233,479

Salient points from the Chairman's Report

Iran and Peru, and to Agencies of the Governments of Bulgaria, Hungary and Brazil.

* Has arranged and participated in a number of loans to major international corporations including US multinational companies.

Wells Fargo Limited, 80 London Wall, London EC2 (01-628 6480)

Bonds				
Bonds	Sales in \$1,000 High Low Last	Net change		
Abbot 7 1/2	10 10 10 10 10	0		
Abbot 8 1/2	10 10 10 10 10	0		
Abbot 9 1/2	10 10 10 10 10	0		
Abbot 10 1/2	10 10 10 10 10	0		
Abbot 11 1/2	10 10 10 10 10	0		
Abbot 12 1/2	10 10 10 10 10	0		
Abbot 13 1/2	10 10 10 10 10	0		
Abbot 14 1/2	10 10 10 10 10	0		
Abbot 15 1/2	10 10 10 10 10	0		
Abbot 16 1/2	10 10 10 10 10	0		

BANCO DE LA NACION

(LIMA)

Acting as agent for the Republic of Peru

U. S. \$ 6,000,000

Five Year Eurodollar Loan

and provided by

Crédit Lyonnais

Banque Française et Italienne pour l'Amérique du Sud

Banque Nationale de Paris

Société Générale

Banque Commerciale pour l'Europe du Nord

Banque Française du Commerce Extérieur

Crédit Industriel et Commercial

September 1972

Eurobonds

(Continued from Page 9)

The option Europe elects is simply an intermediate stopgap pending reform of the international monetary system and a return to fixed exchange rates—as some experts believe—or whether, for better or worse, a system based on floating rates will become a permanent feature of the marketplace—as others believe.

Against this kind of uncertainty comes as no surprise that few new investment decisions are being made. Activity in the new issue end of the Eurobond market last month was minimal with only seven issues totaling the equivalent of \$225.5 million, according to Creditreform Luxembourg. This compares with a volume of \$118.8 million in January, 1973, and \$457 million in February, 1972.

The only really functioning part of the market is the Deutsche mark sector, where four issues totaling 280 million DM were floated. The DM is much in demand and as there is no interest to be earned on DM deposits held by non-German accounts, investors are gobbling up bonds. The Deutsche mark sector, of both Ontario and Quebec, each offering 100 million DM of 15-year obligations, came to market with coupons of 6 1/2 percent, down from the 6 3/4 percent initially envisaged. Ontario was priced at par and Quebec at 99 1/2.

Now on offer is 100 million for the South African Iron and Steel Industrial Corp. (Isor). The issue was announced with a 7 percent coupon and it is possible that market conditions will permit a cut in this rate.

The Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Bank offering 60 million guilders of seven-year notes, priced at 99 1/2 with a 6 1/4 percent coupon.

The European Coal and Steel Community has issued 600 million Luxembourg francs of 12-year bonds at 99 carrying a 7 percent coupon. The bonds will be sold outside Luxembourg and Belgium by a group of 14 banks—the same restricted underwriting—selling group as has been put together for the recent issue by the European Investment Bank and presumably at the same favored commission rate of 2 percent.

As the new issue calendar indicates what modest activity there is focused on the non-dollar sector. Secondary-market prices of DM, French and Luxembourg francs and units of account moved up in fairly active trade.

There was some evidence of firming on Friday in the secondary market for dollar bonds, but overall prices were down for the week. The volume of transactions handled in the week ended March 2 totaled \$380.7 million at CEDEL.

Treasury Bills

Due	Ask	Bid	Yield
Mar. 8	99.5	99.5	5.25
Mar. 15	99.5	99.5	5.25
Mar. 22	99.5	99.5	5.25
Mar. 29	99.5	99.5	5.25
Apr. 5	99.5	99.5	5.25
Apr. 12	99.5	99.5	5.25
Apr. 19	99.5	99.5	5.25
Apr. 26	99.5	99.5	5.25
May 3	99.5	99.5	5.25
May 10	99.5	99.5	5.25
May 17	99.5	99.5	5.25
May 24	99.5	99.5	5.25
May 31	99.5	99.5	5.25
Jun 7	99.5	99.5	5.25
Jun 14	99.5	99.5	5.25
Jun 21	99.5	99.5	5.25
Jun 28	99.5	99.5	5.25
Jul 5	99.5	99.5	5.25
Jul 12	99.5	99.5	5.25
Jul 19	99.5	99.5	5.25
Jul 26	99.5	99.5	5.25
Aug 2	99.5	99.5	5.25
Aug 9	99.5	99.5	5.25
Aug 16	99.5	99.5	5.25
Aug 23	99.5	99.5	5.25
Aug 30	99.5	99.5	5.25
Sep 6	99.5	99.5	5.25
Sep 13	99.5	99.5	5.25
Sep 20	99.5	99.5	5.25
Sep 27	99.5	99.5	5.25
Oct 4	99.5	99.5	5.25
Oct 11	99.5	99.5	5.25
Oct 18	99.5	99.5	5.25
Oct 25	99.5	99.5	5.25
Nov 1	99.5	99.5	5.25
Nov 8	99.5	99.5	5.25
Nov 15	99.5	99.5	5.25
Nov 22	99.5	99.5	5.25
Nov 29	99.5	99.5	5.25
Dec 6	99.5	99.5	5.25
Dec 13	99.5	99.5	5.25
Dec 20	99.5	99.5	5.25
Dec 27	99.5	99.5	5.25
Jan 3	99.5	99.5	5.25
Jan 10	99.5	99.5	5.25
Jan 17	99.5	99.5	5.25
Jan 24	99.5	99.5	5.25
Jan 31	99.5	99.5	5.25
Feb 7	99.5	99.5	5.25
Feb 14	99.5	99.5	5.25
Feb 21	99.5	99.5	5.25
Feb 28	99.5	99.5	5.25

Bank Stock Quotations

(Closing prices of the week's trading.)

Bank	Price
BankAmerica	47 1/2
Bank of America	47 1/2
Bank of Montreal	47 1/2
Bank of New York	47 1/2
Bank of Tokyo	47 1/2
Bank of Victoria	47 1/2
Bank of Western Australia	47 1/2
Bank of Western Canada	47 1/2
Bank of Western India	47 1/2
Bank of Western Japan	47 1/2
Bank of Western Korea	47 1/2
Bank of Western Latin America	47 1/2
Bank of Western Middle East	47 1/2
Bank of Western North Africa	47 1/2
Bank of Western Oceania	47 1/2
Bank of Western South America	47 1/2
Bank of Western Europe	47 1/2
Bank of Western Far East	47 1/2
Bank of Western India	47 1/2
Bank of Western Japan	47 1/2
Bank of Western Korea	47 1/2
Bank of Western Latin America	47 1/2
Bank of Western Middle East	47 1/2
Bank of Western North Africa	47 1/2
Bank of Western Oceania	47 1/2
Bank of Western South America	47 1/2
Bank of Western Europe	47 1/2
Bank of Western Far East	47 1/2

New York Bond Sales

(Continued from Page 10)

Bonds	High	Low	Last	Chg.
100% T.B. 10/15	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/20	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/25	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/30	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/35	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/40	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/45	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/50	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/55	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/60	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/65	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/70	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/75	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/80	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/85	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/90	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/95	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/100	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/105	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/110	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/115	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/120	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/125	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/130	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/135	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/140	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/145	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/150	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/155	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/160	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/165	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/170	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/175	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/180	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/185	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/190	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/195	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/200	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4

Foreign Bonds

Bonds	High	Low	Last	Chg.
100% T.B. 10/15	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/20	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/25	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/30	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/35	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/40	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/45	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/50	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/55	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/60	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/65	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/70	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/75	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/80	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/85	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/90	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/95	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/100	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/105	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/110	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/115	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/120	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/125	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/130	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/135	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/140	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/145	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/150	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/155	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/160	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/165	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/170	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/175	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/180	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/185	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/190	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/195	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/200	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4

International Bonds

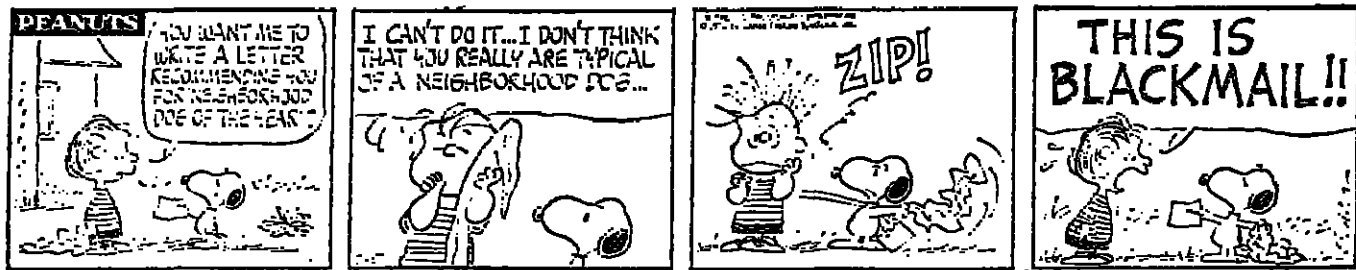
(A weekly list of non-dollar denominated issues.)

Bonds	High	Low	Last	Chg.
100% T.B. 10/15	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/20	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/25	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/30	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/35	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/40	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/45	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/50	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/55	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/60	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/65	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/70	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/75	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/80	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/85	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/90	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/95	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/100	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/105	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/110	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/115	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/120	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/125	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/130	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/135	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/140	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/145	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/150	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/155	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/160	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/165	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/170	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/175	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/180	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/185	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/190	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/195	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4
100% T.B. 10/200	102 1/2	102 1/4	102 1/2	+1/4

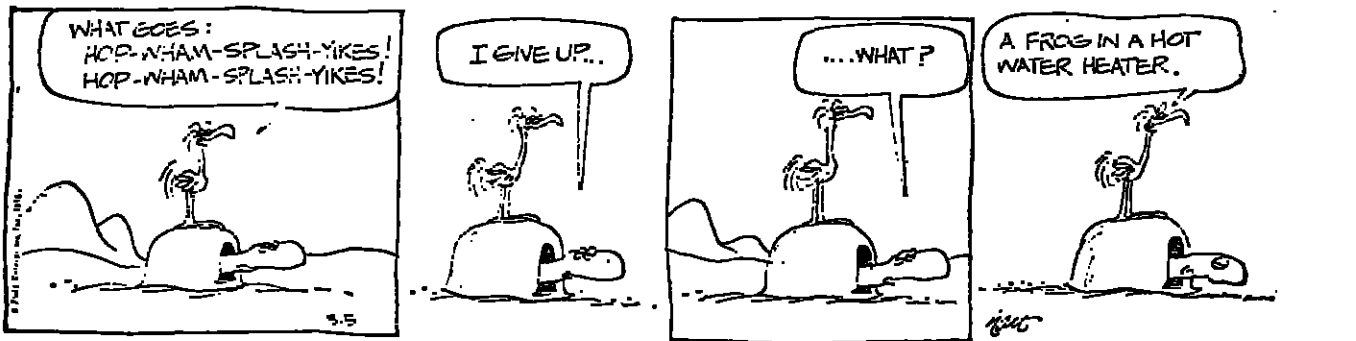
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PEANUTS



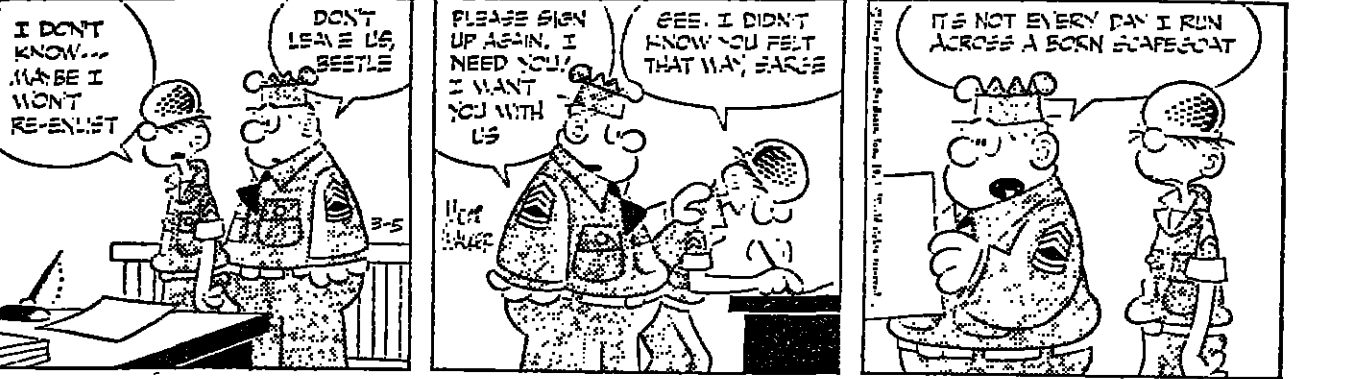
B.C.



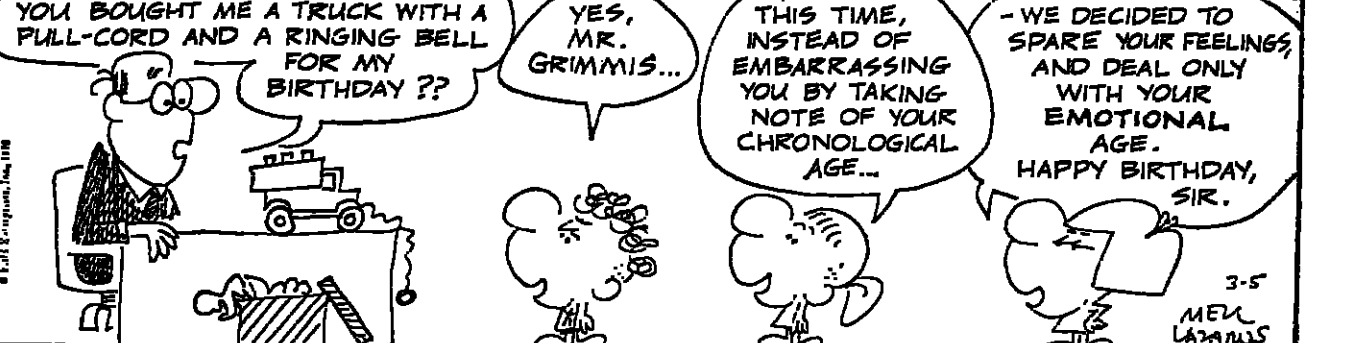
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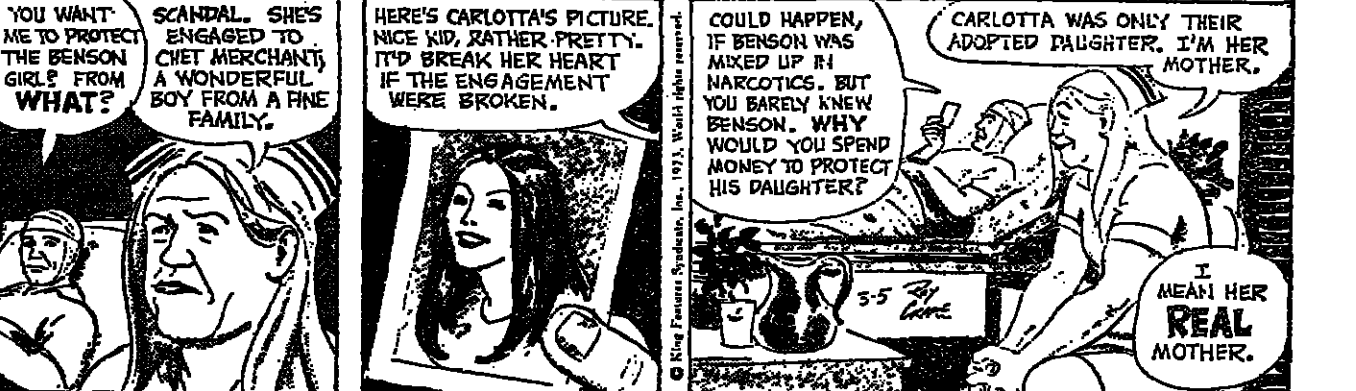
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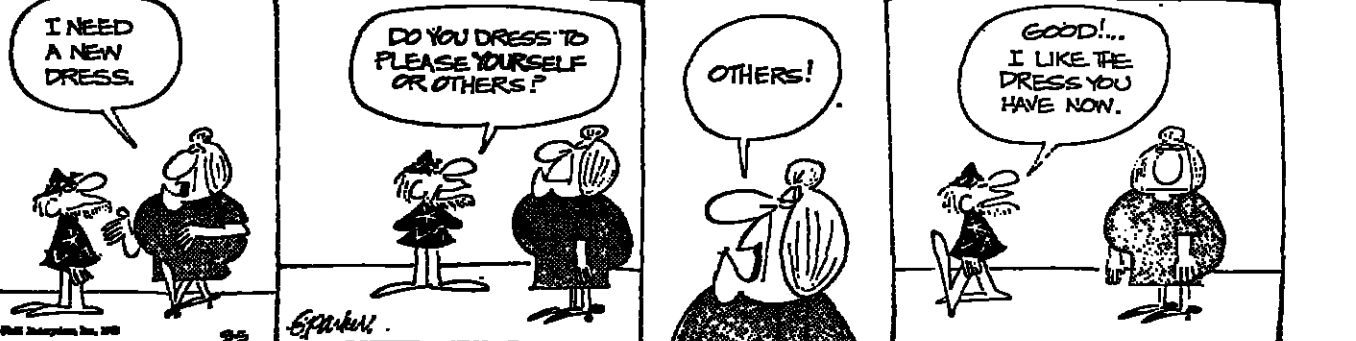
MISS PEACH



BUZZ SAWYER



WIAZARD of ID



REX MORGAN MD



POGO



RIP KIRBY



BLONDIE



BRIDGE

By Alan Truscott

A very difficult playing chance was missed by South on the diagrammed deal. He rebid his diamonds after his partner had responded one no-trump to the opening bid and East had overcalled in spades.

West then emerged with a weird penalty double. He was no doubt carrying too. He thought that a singleton in a partner's suit improves defensive chances, but the strength of his hand and the strength of his diamonds were both inadequate for the purpose.

If West had passed three diamonds, North might have ventured three no-trump and gone down at least four tricks. But as it was North was happy to pass, and the opening lead was the singleton spade.

It is not surprising that South went down in three diamonds doubled, for even with all four hands in view the winning line is not obvious. Anyone who can see the solution quickly gets a high rating for analytical ability.

WEST
♠ 3
♥ 98672
♦ 1094
♣ J1062

EAST
♠ K74
♥ J6
♦ Q75
♣ K8754

SOUTH (D)
♠ A 10 8
♥ 1053
♦ A K J 3 2
♣ 3

East and West were vulnerable. The bidding:
South West North East
1♠ Pass 1NT 2♣
2♦ DBL Pass 3♠
Pass

West led the spade three.

South can count eight sure tricks, and needs either a heart ruff or a club trick for his ninth. Playing for an immediate heart ruff is highly dangerous, however, since West is almost sure to have a singleton spade and may obtain two spade ruffs to beat the contract. That will be South's fate if he leads a heart immediately.

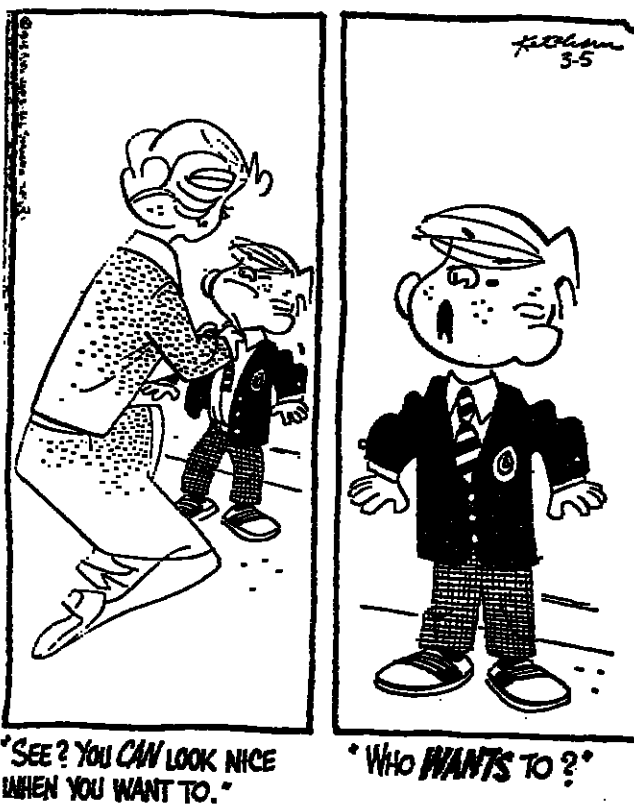
Slightly better is to draw trumps and lead the singleton club, hoping that West has the club ace, a not unreasonable assumption. But as the cards lie, the only winning play is most unusual. If he knows the position, which of course he does not in practice, South will play exactly two rounds of trumps and then lead a heart.

Now West cannot obtain more than one ruff, and the only way for the defense to stop a heart ruff is for West to win the first or second heart lead and play his last trump. It is then an easy matter for the declarer to push East in with the third round of hearts, forcing a favorable lead in one of the black suits.

In practice, South went down one trick.

60MER	61BIE	62BOB	63BIB	64BIB	65BIB	66BIB	67BIB	68BIB	69BIB	70BIB	71BIB	72BIB	73BIB	74BIB	75BIB	76BIB	77BIB	78BIB	79BIB	80BIB	81BIB	82BIB	83BIB	84BIB	85BIB	86BIB	87BIB	88BIB	89BIB	90BIB	91BIB	92BIB	93BIB	94BIB	95BIB	96BIB	97BIB	98BIB	99BIB	100BIB
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DENNIS THE MENACE



BOOKS

PRISONERS OF PSYCHIATRY

Mental Patients, Psychiatrists and the Law

By Bruce Ennis. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. 232 pp. \$6.95.

Reviewed by Ellen Willis

IN 1968, the New York Civil Liberties Union hired Bruce Ennis to direct its Civil Liberties and Mental Illness Litigation Project. For the next three years, Ennis investigated a wide range of legal issues affecting mental patients and fought—sometimes successfully, sometimes not—to extend their civil rights. In a variety of test cases he contended that judges could not simply dispose of mentally ill defendants by declaring them incompetent to stand trial, and incarcerating them in hospitals for the criminally insane; that the state could not hospitalize a person if less drastic forms of treatment were feasible; that mental patients who had been committed on the grounds that they needed treatment must be offered meaningful treatment or discharged. He also contended that hospitals could not force medication on unwilling patients or exorbitant fees on indigent patients as "therapy," that employers and educational institutions could not automatically reject applications from former inmates. "Prisoners of Psychiatry" is a report on some of these cases, their results and their implications. It is also a cogent polemic against forced confinement of the mentally ill.

When Ennis began his inquiry into the workings of New York State's mental hospitals, he expected to uncover abuses of the system. Before long, however, he concluded that the system itself was an abuse. His book argues that involuntary hospitalization is an unjustifiable form of coercion whose purpose is to rid the community of troublesome or unproductive eccentrics—most of them poor, black, old or all three. In the case of altered criminals or others considered dangerous, the state's commitment powers allow it to side-step the Constitution's inconvenient strictures against preventive detention.

These points have been made before, and Ennis owes a particular debt to the work of Thomas Szasz, who has contributed an enthusiastic introduction to "Prisoners of Psychiatry." But Ennis offers a fresh perspective, all the more valuable in that its legal and moral conclusions do not depend on any one theory about the nature of mental illness or the function of psychiatry. Ennis wisely avoids psychiatric controversy; though he obviously sympathizes with Szasz's contention that "mental illness" is simply deviant behavior, he does not push that view on the reader. As a lawyer, he sticks to the pragmatic questions. How, in practice, is mental illness defined? What actually happens to a person who is labeled mentally ill? How, under our legal system, do we justify locking people up for their own good, or because they might commit a crime, or because they are "incompetent" to prove their innocence?

Ennis's answer to the first question is simple: The criteria for diagnosing psychopathology are so vague and ambiguous that mental illness is, in effect, whatever a psychiatrist—or in some

states any physician—says it is. One of his cases involved a prisoner, Jerome Wright, who wrote a letter his warden considered paranoid. His impending parole was canceled, and he was sent to Dannemora. Wright claimed that he had good reason to fear for his life—two prisoners had warned him that he was a suspected informer. Another inmate backed his statement in court. Nevertheless, the state's psychiatrists refused to consider that Wright's fears might be rational. Instead they testified that he had to be hospitalized or he would have believed in the other prisoners. One doctor claimed that Wright showed "inappropriate affect" because he discussed his danger calmly. Another asserted that Wright's concern about the health hazards of cigarettes was evidence of "irrational fears." The judge sent Wright back to the hospital. In one way or another, Ennis's clients are all involved in the same basic struggle—to get people to take them seriously. In the eyes of psychiatrists, judges and almost everyone else, they are incapable of choice. This pervasive prejudice against the mentally ill—that they do not simply make strange, incomprehensible or destructive choices but rather do not choose at all—is an absolute barrier to the radical notion that mental patients have a right to their own version of self-determination.

I think it is also the key to a question that perplexes Ennis: Why are we so ready to single out the mentally ill for preventive detention? After all, a lot of sane people are or seem dangerous, yet we don't jail them unless they actually commit a criminal act. The difference, of course, is that criminals are given credit for making evil choices, while the insane are seen as unpredictable automatons, time bombs that may go off at any moment. Ennis's clients are manifestly not automatons; yet they are consistently treated as if they were.

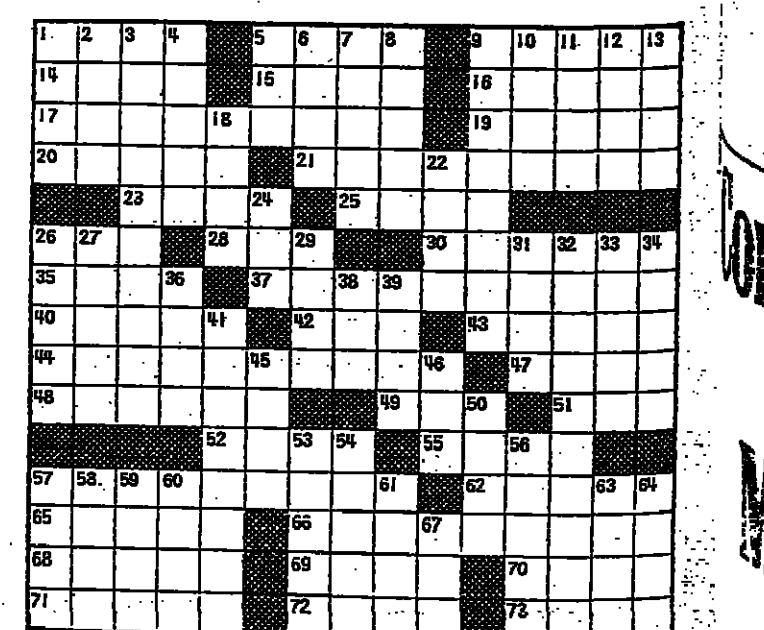
The book leaves a few odd gaps. Ennis ignores the whole complicated issue of suicide, and he never discusses female patients as a special category, though several of his cases appear to involve sexual discrimination on some level. But I don't want to quibble. "Prisoners of Psychiatry" is an impressive document. It is much better written than most books by lawyers and refreshingly free of the self-righteousness endemic to civil libertarians. Ennis describes his confrontations and offstage maneuvers with relish, but he assiduously avoids melodrama. The cases he has included are representative rather than sensational, attacks on the central flaws of the system rather than its more baroque aspects. Unfortunately, this lack of flamboyance—along with the formidable proliferation of books on similar subjects—may cost "Prisoners of Psychiatry" some of the attention it deserves.

Ellen Willis writes for The New York Times.

CROSSWORD

By Will Weng

- ACROSS
- Holy days: Abbr.
 - Scarlett's estate
 - Kind of fish
 - Safari for one
 - Kind of hygiene or surgery
 - Wandering one
 - Machine for Josephine
 - Think
 - Miss Thompson
 - Handicrafts
 - Neighbors
 - That to Brutus
 - Certain deck
 - Off the ground: Abbr.
 - Vehicle for three men
 - By the one's pants
 - City in Utah
 - Kind of dipper
 - "It's—world"
 - Goal
 - Opera part
 - Vermont resort
 - Proofreading
 - Less than 100 shares
 - Scotty's negative
 - Ruth's output: Abbr.
 - Part of B.T.U.
 - Ice sheet
 - Quack
 - Melon operation
 - Abhorred
 - Relative of a bay window
 - How do — the?
 - Savior's ascent
 - Signs
 - Fair-haired one
 - Algerian city
 - la vie!
 - Depots: Abbr.
 - Vicinity
 - Words for a sure thing
 - Rot
 - Truk island
 - Al Fatah member
 - What the mice did to the clock
 - Eaves: Sp.
 - Thrives
 - Pueblo Indian
 - Roman poet
 - Shoe size
 - Minerals
 - Skin
 - Cyrano's prominence
 - Wiedersehen
 - Place to remember
 - "You would — to try it"
 - Slant
 - Kindergarten course
 - Obeys
 - Man of property
 - Bonneville, for one
 - "Batteries not —": Abbr.
 - Juvenile louse
 - Some Feds
 - Soft or cold
 - Volcano
 - British defense arm
 - Otherwise
 - nice to have a man —
 - Long-nosed animal
 - Smart of vision
 - Smart
 - Nimbus
 - Concern of Compton and Fermi
 - Dream, in Paris
 - Monogram at Houston
 - Annoys
 - Rorschach, for one
 - Tin Tin



JUMBLE—That scrambled word game

Unscramble these four Jumbles, one letter to each square, to form four ordinary words.

RILLT
SUPIO
BOLDI
LEESIV

Print the SURPRISE ANSWER here

Now arrange the circled letters to form the surprise answer, as suggested by the above cartoon.

(Answers tomorrow)

Saturday's Jumble: CROON APRON PAUPER TRIBAL
Answer: What to drink coming out of a trance—NECTAR

السلامة

